The Book of Job in Middle English literature (1100-1500)

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IN MIDDLE ENGLISH LITERATURE
(1100-1500)

by

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CONTAINS PULLOUTS

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines references to the Book of Job by Middle English authors, shows the ways in which they employ the story or quotations from it, and attempts to account for the consistency with which they depart from their source.

Middle English authors abridge the Book of Job considerably, unifying it and smoothing away much of its complexity. While they give evidence of uneasiness with their source they exercise considerable ingenuity in adapting it to their purposes. They retain some of the original but frequently depart from the facts and even from the spirit and general tenor of the book. They alter events, misquote the text or quote it in a manner or context which alters its significance, and augment it with material which does not occur in it. They select only a few of Job's words for quotation and often attribute to him speeches uttered in the original by his friends who are his opponents in the discussion.

The principal reason for these variations is the Book of Job itself: part of scripture, yet containing passages repugnant to orthodox religious sensibilities. The Church Fathers, legend and liturgy are the main sources of the variations in the literature. Exegetes give allegorical interpretations which replace unsatisfac-

tory literal meanings or associate particular features of dogma with certain passages. Legends supply the notion of the patience of Job and give additional evidence of his saintliness. Because some portions of the book are used in a liturgical office, adjacent antiphons come to be regarded as from Job.

Owing to its nature and to the influences brought to bear on it before it was used in Middle English, there is a considerable difference between the Book of Job as it appears in the Bible and as it is reproduced in Middle English literature.

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PREFACE

In view of the variations in both manuscripts and printed editions of the mediaeval works quoted in this dissertation, I have adopted the following policy. For quoting from published works I have retained the spelling of the printed text including the use of the ampersand but have expanded other contractions. Punctuation has been duplicated as nearly as possible, but the standard semicolon has been substituted for an inverted one even in cases where this may not reproduce the exact significance of the mark it replaces. In quoting from manuscripts I have expanded contractions but have reproduced other features including punctuation as closely as possible.

Libraries have been most generous in allowing me to examine their manuscripts and for this privilege I should like to thank the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Bodleian, the University Library at Cambridge and the University Library, Glasgow; Queen's College, Oxford; the Pepys Library; Magdalene College, Cambridge; Emmanuel College, Cambridge; and St. John's College, Cambridge. I should also like to express my gratitude for the financial assistance I have received from the Canada Council and from the University of Manitoba's Donald Vernon Snider Memorial Fellowship.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In many ways the Book of Job was an unsatisfactory source for Middle English writers. Complicated in structure and fraught with contradictions which obscure its meaning, it presents great difficulties to anyone who wishes to understand its story and conceptions and to recreate them in a different language. For Middle English authors it had the additional disadvantage of containing many things which they had no desire to say, and which they would have been especially reluctant to quote as coming from the lips of a saint. Yet its contradictions turned out to be to their advantage since, although some passages were objectionable, the book provided alternatives which these writers could readily adapt to the purposes of their works. In addition they usually wished to abbreviate the biblical stories they told and as they shortened this book they simplified its complexities.

In its overall design the Book of Job comprises a prologue (chapters i and ii) and an epilogue (xlii, 7-17) in prose and a central section which, with the exception of one very brief passage (xxxii, 1-5), is in poetry. The poetic core of the work falls into three major divisions: the discussion between Job and his three friends (iii-xxxi),

the speeches of Eliu[1] (xxxii-xxxvii) and the appearance of God (xxxviii-lxii, 6).

The prologue introduces the hero of the book, a man of surpassing moral excellence and great wealth, who is extremely conscientious about his religious observances. In the manner of the patriarchs, he performs these ceremonies on behalf of his entire household (i, 1-5). When Satan visits heaven God points out these perfections to him but Satan implies that Job's piety is not disinterested and will vanish if misfortune comes to him. God grants Satan permission to test Job's sincerity by attacking his possessions (i, 6-12). Four messengers come hard on one another's heels to announce to Job the loss of his oxen and asses, his sheep, his camels and finally all ten of his children (i, 13-19). Although Job mourns the death of his children he blesses the name of the Lord and utters no word of complaint (i, 20-22). Defeated, Satan returns to heaven and gains permission to attack Job's person, though not his life (ii, 1-6). Satan then strikes him with a terrible illness and his wife urges him to bless God and die but still Job remains steadfast (ii, 7-10). Three friends come to visit him in his distress (ii, 11-13). The situation thus established, the discussion begins.

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[1]For the sake of consistency this name is spelt Eliu throughout, and the spellings Eliphaz, Baldad and Sophar are used for the names of the friends. These are the spellings of the Vulgate and are those generally used in Middle English. This summary is based on the Rheims-Douay Bible and, except where other versions are cited, quotations are from that Bible.

It comprises three cycles of speeches in which each of the friends in turn talks to Job and he replies to each of their speeches. The debate is provoked by an outburst from Job in which he curses the day of his birth and the night of his conception (iii, 3-10) and regrets that he survived birth (iii, 11-12 and 16) for had he not he would now have had the peace of death (iii, 13-15 and 17-19). He asks what value life has since it contains only suffering and longing for death, and cites his own life as an example (iii, 20-26).

In the first cycle Eliphaz opens tentatively (iv, 2) and then expresses surprise that Job who has previously taught others how suffering is to be endured cannot now bear it himself (iv, 3-6). Eliphaz asks him to remember that the good are preserved but the wicked perish (iv, 7-11). In a dream he has been told that to God no one is righteous (iv, 12-21). It is folly for anyone to consider himself safe, for labour is the common lot of man (v, 2-7). Therefore Eliphaz resolves to turn to God who orders nature and reduces the wicked, raises the lowly and defeats the crafty (v, 8-16). Troubles, Eliphaz says, are chastisement from God who wishes only to correct (v, 17-18). Job will ultimately be delivered and will enjoy prosperity (v, 19-26).

In reply Job describes the intensity of his sufferings (vi, 2-7) and wishes God would complete the destruction he has begun for he has not denied His words but his strength will not endure forever (vi, 8-12). His

friends have deserted him and, although he has asked no aid of them, they reproach him. If they judged fairly they would find that he speaks the truth (vi, 13-30). Man's life is painful and short (vii, 1-10). Job resolves to get an answer to his question, why does God persecute man? Is God injured if man sins? Why does He not pardon man since his life is so soon over (vii, 11-21)?

Baldad attempts to defend God from Job's criticism. It is unthinkable that God should be unjust (viii, 2-3). Job's children were justly punished and if he himself is pure and appeals to God he will be restored (viii, 4-7). From their ancestors they have received the knowledge that those who forget God meet disaster and the righteous are preserved (viii, 8-20). Job will be restored and his enemies will be destroyed (viii, 21-22).

Job acknowledges that no man can be justified before God Whose power over all things is absolute and Himself answerable to no one (ix, 2-13). Although Job admits that if he presumed to contend with God he would be defeated, he insists that God destroys good and wicked alike and laughs at the suffering of the innocent. The earth is in the hands of the wicked and this must be God's doing (ix, 14-24). Job's life is short (ix, 25-27). Regardless of his most exacting care God will find him evil (ix, 28-31). There is no equality between them, and no arbitrator (ix, 32-33). Let God set aside the unfair advantage His great power gives Him (ix, 34-35). Job has nothing to lose and will ask God why He oppresses and slanders man.

Since He is not finite as man is, why does He persecute the innocent knowing them innocent (x, 4-7)? God has made him with loving care but apparently only to torture him whether he is good or evil (x, 8-17). Why did God give him life and why does He not now grant him peace before he dies (x, 18-22)?

How long does Job intend to insist on his purity, Sophar asks (xi, 2-4). God could reveal Job's sins to him (xi, 5-6). God is great beyond men's comprehension (xi, 7-10). He perceives and punishes the sins of men so that they are brought to submission (xi, 11-12). Job has only to reform and he will be restored (xi, 13-19). The wicked have no such hope (xi, 20).

Job replies sarcastically that the friends are not unique in their knowledge (xii, 2). He is as clever as they, he says, and knows for a fact that he, an innocent man, is made an object of ridicule while the wicked flourish (xii, 3-6). The very beasts of the field know that God controls everything, and causes even the wisest and most powerful of men and nations to fall to ruin (xii, 7-25). Knowing this Job wants to argue with God (xiii, 1-3). His friends are mistaken if they believe that God is pleased that they defend Him with lies (xiii, 4-12). God will kill him but Job is determined to state the case honestly (xiii, 15-16). Let God cease torturing him, and list the sins for which he is being punished (xiii, 20-24). Frail and transient, Job is not a fit subject for God's persecution. His life is soon passed (xiii, 25-xiv, 6).

Unlike a tree, man has a brief life and his end is final (xiv, 7-12). If he could hope for reunion with God after death man could endure the suffering of this life but, like a mountain which time levels, man departs and knows nothing of the fortunes of his posterity (xiv, 13-22).

Eliphaz replies that this speech is blasphemy (xv, 2-6). Job does not know everything (xv, 7-10). He is too arrogant to receive consolation (xv, 11-13). No man is pure, he insists again (xv, 14-16). The wisdom of the ancients has perceived that the wicked man knows no happiness for he is accompanied by fear and remorse (xv, 18-24). He has defied God and will be destroyed (xv, 25-35).

In answer Job complains that his friends are troublesome comforters (xvi, 2-6). God has afflicted him terribly and this when he was innocent (xvi, 7-18). Nevertheless he hopes to be vindicated, having a witness in heaven (xvi, 19-20). Life is short (xvi, 23-xvii, 1 and 11-16) and his life is made wretched by God, to the amazement of the righteous (xvi, 6-9). Death and utter oblivion are all he can look forward to (xvi, 10-16).

Baldad asks how long they are to be insulted in this way (xviii, 1-2). He reiterates his belief that the wicked will be and should be crushed (xviii, 5-21).

Job resents the speeches of his friends (xix, 2-5) and insists that God has not been just in afflicting him and he has no means of redress (xix, 6-7). He lists the injuries by which God has reduced him from his place of honour (xix, 8-12). His family has abandoned him (xix,

13-19) and his body is vanishing (xix, 20). Posterity however will find out the truth: his redeemer will vindicate him and it will then go hard with the friends who have persecuted him (xix, 21-29).

Sophar is resolved to answer these insults (xx, 2-3) and he repeats his one conviction: it has always been known that the wicked have pleasure for a short time only (xx, 4-29).

In irritation Job insists that his distress comes from the fact that he perceives to his horror that his quarrel is not against man but against God (xxi, 4-6). The wicked flourish, their children are happy, their cattle increase. Although they refuse to serve God they live in prosperity and die in peace (xxi, 7-18). Suppose that later generations of a wicked man's family suffer, how will that trouble him if he is dead (xxi, 19-21)? Prosperity and poverty are apportioned indiscriminately and with no regard for virtue (xxi, 23-26). People say that the punishment of the wicked is only delayed (xxi, 27-28) but usually they escape disaster and no one dares to confront them with their evil deeds (xxi, 29-31). They die in peace (xxi, 32-33). What the friends say is simply not true (xxi, 34).

Eliphaz opens the third cycle by saying that even men's virtue does not benefit God. Does Job think it is his piety God is rebuking rather than his wickedness (xxii, 2-5)? He lists the sins he thinks Job guilty of (xxii, 6-9). These are the source of his suffering (xxii,

10-11). Did Job think his actions would escape God's notice (xxii, 12-14)? Does Job want to perish as have the wicked of all ages (xxii, 15-20)? Let him return to God and he will again prosper (xxii, 21-30).

Job repeats his desire to discuss his case with God (xxiii, 3-7) but complains that he cannot find Him (xxiii, 8-9). God knows he is innocent but does as He wishes and Job is filled with fear (xxiii, 10-17). Why is no evidence seen of God's rule, but only of evil controlling the world (xxiv, 1-4)? The poor are oppressed and God will avenge them (xxiv, 5-12). The murderer and adulterer take advantage of the night (xxiv, 13-17). They deserve to suffer and God knows their wickedness (xxiv, 13-23). Their false security will soon vanish (xxiv, 24). Let those who think otherwise prove him wrong.[1]

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[1]This speech is much disputed. The assertion that God will not let the oppression of the poor go unavenged (xxiv, 12) seems to contradict the line of Job's argument up to this point. From v. 18 on the passage seems in the original to voice the views of the friends, not those of Job. To meet this problem the RSV prefaces it with "you say" which is not in the Hebrew. Dhorme moves xxiv, 18-24 to follow xxvii, where it becomes part of a speech of Sophar. (See pp. xlix ff. and 386-392.) Pope makes the same shift but excepts xxiv, 21, retaining it as part of Job's speech here. (See pp. xviii and 158-162.) Driver and Gray say of this passage: "In part at least these corrupt, difficult, ambiguous or unintelligible verses describe the unhappy fate of the wicked: this is a constant theme of the friends, whereas Job admits at most and by way of concession (c. 21) that <u>some</u> wicked men meet with an unhappy fate, but only as rare exceptions to the general rule that the wicked prosper. It is necessary, therefore, to suppose either (1) that the vv. are out of place . . . or (2) that Job in 18-21 is citing the opinions of the friends to reject them in v. 22 f." (See p. 211.) The confusion which this speech and the next introduce is discussed on p. 47.

Baldad then makes a very brief speech about the might of God (xxv, 2-3) and repeats Eliphaz's earlier claim that no man is pure before Him (xxv, 4-6).

In reply Job begins with mocking admiration for Baldad's skill to counsel and aid the distressed (xxvi, 2-4). God has, Job says, great power over nature and yet this is only the slightest part of His greatness (xxvi, 5-14).[1] Job pledges himself with an oath never to forsake his integrity or admit to a guilt he does not feel (xxvii, 2-7), for the hypocrite has no hope. God will not hear him or delight him (xxvii, 8-12). Though the wicked man prospers, his posterity will be cut off, his trust will fail him and disaster will fall upon him (xxvii, 13-23).[2]

Job then continues with a meditation on the search for wisdom which cannot be mined like metals or jewels, even by men who can alter the face of the earth (xxviii, 1-21). Destruction and death have heard rumours of it,

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[1]This passage is given by many modern translators to Baldad, rounding out his otherwise brief speech in xxv. (See Dhorme, pp. xlviii and 370-371; Pope, pp. xviii and 163-164; Stevenson, p. 15.) Driver and Gray leave it as part of Job's speech, pp. 218-224. Its position there makes it possible to understand Job's opening words as ironic praise of Baldad for helping God ("him that is weak", Douai). The statement of the power of God then follows as further ridicule of Baldad's superfluous assistance to One so mighty. (See Vulgate.)

[2]Varying portions of the end of this chapter are taken from Job by modern translators and used with parts of xxiv to supply the missing speech of Sophar: Dhorme, xxvii, 13-23 and xxiv, 18-24, see pp. xlix-li and 386-398; Pope, xxvii, 8-23 and xxiv, 18-25, see pp. 168-170 and 172; Driver and Gray, vv. 7-10 and 13-23, see pp. 227-232; Stevenson, vv. 7-10 and 13-23, see pp. 15-16. Stevenson omits v. 22 as an interpolation of another hand.

God has been familiar with it from the creation of the world and has told man that wisdom is to fear the Lord and understanding is to turn away from evil (xxviii, 22-28).

Job wishes for his former condition when God was his friend, his children were alive, his advice was revered and his generosity rained down on all about him (xxix, 1-17 and 21-26). At that time it had seemed to him that no misfortune would ever touch him (xxix, 18-20). With this he contrasts his present misery as the laughing-stock of the lowest levels of society (xxx, 1-15). His illness gives him no rest and God does not hear when he cries (xxx, 16-20). God has changed and has set him up only to let him fall, and death awaits (xxx, 21-23). Although he mourned for the poor when he was rich, his own misery is not now mitigated (xxx, 24-31).

He considers his past life, sifting it for any vestige of sin. He has been free from all unchastity (xxxi, 1-4), from deceit (xxxi, 5-8), from adultery (xxxi, 9-12), and from unfairness to his servants (xxxi, 13-15). He has observed all the requirements of charity: feeding and clothing the poor, the widow and the fatherless (xxxi, 16-22). He has not trusted in wealth, or worshipped the sun and the moon (xxxi, 23-28). He has not been malicious, or cold to travellers, or hidden a secret iniquity (xxxi, 29-34). He has not farmed the land without also fertilizing it nor neglected to pay his rent (xxxi, 38-40). If only God would grant him an indictment he would publicly account for every action of his life (xxxi, 35-37).

The three cycles are over and a young man, Eliu, who has apparently been present throughout, now speaks out, angry that Job has justified himself rather than God, and at the friends because, although they say Job is wrong, they produce no answer to his charges (xxxii and xxxiii, 1-7). Job has claimed that although he is innocent God has attacked him (xxxii, 8-11). This is wrong. God speaks to man in many ways, among them by suffering (xxxiii, 8-18). When in these throes a man approaches death, God will deliver him if a single angel can be found to speak for him (xxxiii, 19-25). Then that man acknowledges his sin and praises the mercy of God which has spared him (xxxii, 26-28). Thus God draws a man away from evil (xxxiii, 29-33). Job, Eliu says, has claimed that he has not been treated justly by God but God is incapable of acting unjustly. He has created and can destroy all that is, and can treat princes with contempt (xxxiv, 2-20). God sees everything man does and at the appointed time he will judge and will wipe out the evildoers (xxxiv, 21-30). If Job should ask what profit he has for not having sinned, he should see that sins do not touch God. They injure men who cry to God but He does not heed them because of the pride of men (xxxv, 2-13). Yet, says Eliu, Job presumes to criticize God because He does not punish transgression (xxxv, 14-16). God sets up the righteous as kings but when they become arrogant they are thrown into prison where God teaches them by affliction. If they heed the instruction they are restored, if not they perish (xxxvi,

7-14). Job should see that his suffering too is for the purpose of instruction. He should not speak against God but instead should praise God's works, Whose marvels Eliu then points out (xxxvi, 16-xxxvii, 24).

God then speaks, ignoring Eliu and challenging Job. He reminds him of his ignorance of the creation of the earth and the obedience of the ocean to its bounds. Can Job appoint the time for the sun to rise and shake the wicked out of the earth? Can he walk on the sea, understand death, the size of the earth, the source of light, snow and rain (xxxvii, 4-30)? All the intricacies of nature are pointed out and Job's inability to control them is established (xxxviii, 31-xxxix, 30). Ought Job then to contend with the Almighty Who can manage all these things, God asks (xxxix, 32), and Job answers that, puny as he is, he ought to have said nothing and will say no more (xxxix, 34-35). God asks if Job will condemn Him in order to show himself just and challenges Job to assume divine majesty, overturn the order of the world or control Behemoth and Leviathan (xl, 10-xli, 34). Again Job admits that he has spoken foolishly. Previously he had heard of God, now he has seen Him and having seen Him he repents of speaking as he has (xlii, 2-6).

God turns then to the friends, condemns them for not having spoken what was right before Him as Job has. He commands them to take cattle to Job so that he can offer a holocaust for them. When Job has done this God accepts them and restores Job to wealth and family friendship

and gives him a new family of seven sons and three daughters (xlii, 7-17).

Even a summary of this sort reveals some of the complexities which make this book difficult as a source. It begins as an examination of Job's piety which God believes to be perfect, and Satan believes to be motivated by self-interest. By the end of the story Job has earned himself a rebuke and admits that he has spoken without due humility, and the reader who witnessed the heavenly wager may wonder if he is intended to assume that Satan has won. Job himself seems to be two people; one of whom submits completely to divine will and another who, if he does not curse God to His face, comes very close to demanding reasons why he should not. His language is certainly unexpected in one who is proverbial for his patience. Nevertheless the rebuke which he receives at the end surprises the reader who has known that Job was correct when he argued that his sufferings were not punishment for sin because he has witnessed the events in heaven which are their cause.

The main issue of divine justice is left suspended at the end of the book. Job, seeing that the wicked prosper and the good suffer, contemplates the possibility that the ruler of the world is not just. The friends reject such a notion but fail to convince the reader because they argue that since God is just suffering is the reward for sin and Job's circumstances are proof that suffering may have no such cause. When God appears He does not produce

new evidence but confronts Job with His greatness. He is scandalized that a man should be willing to think God unjust in order to maintain his own justice (xl, 3) but He does not provide an explanation which will make it possible to square the known fact of Job's unmerited suffering with a hypothesis of divine justice. His arguments are in fact not very different from those of the friends yet Job, who rejected them with scorn when the friends advanced them, is now reduced to complete submission. The friends for their part are not praised for holding the same views as God but are condemned when God says to Eliphaz, "My wrath is kindled against thee, and against thy two friends, because you have not spoken the thing that is right before me, as my servant Job hath" (xlii, 7). This final remark presents the crowning complication since it was Job to whom God had just addressed the rhetorical question, "Who is this that wrappeth up sentences in unskillful words" (xxxviii, 2) and God who had presumably approved Job when he said, "I have spoken unwisely, and things that above measure exceed my knowledge" (xlii, 3).

These contradictions do not defy resolution but they lend themselves to a variety of interpretations and in consequence, when the Book of Job is their source, writers may produce accounts that differ greatly from one another, which is not of course objectionable, or that change direction as they develop leaving the reader in some confusion as to the author's understanding of Job's story.

Problems increase as the book is examined in greater detail, for there are times when Job's speeches for brief intervals express views which are diametrically opposed to those he has developed in other parts of his discussion with the friends.

In the first two cycles of the discussion the friends support the beliefs which they have received from their ancestors. God, they say, is mighty beyond man's comprehension and therefore so trifling and imperfect a creature as man has no right to question His ways. In any case God's justice is indisputable and the wicked, even if they flourish for a short time, will ultimately be brought to the state of misery which their actions merit. Since no one is without sin all suffering is deserved and the man on whom affliction is laid should turn to God and put away his wickedness.[1] During these two cycles Job contends that there seems to be no relationship between sin and suffering, and if there is it favours the wicked whose wickedness has made them strong enough to prevent other men from doing them harm. He cannot think of any offence which he has committed which could deserve anything like the suffering which he is undergoing. It is true that there is no comparison between God and man but if after the most scrupulous care a man is judged to be wicked he

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[1]In general the friends do not explicitly say that suffering is evidence of sin or that it is in proportion to the sins of the sufferer but the implication of this attitude is there, and at one point Sophar says that God is exacting much less from Job than his iniquity deserves (xi, 6).

has wasted his time as there is no basis upon which judgments are made.

These different views are clearly established in the first two cycles of speeches but in the third, although Eliphaz continues in the same vein that he has followed before, and Baldad in a very brief speech says nothing to contradict his earlier statements, there is no speech for Sophar and Job's reply to Baldad adopts the view to which he was formerly so much opposed, that the happiness of the wicked man will be shortly snuffed out as God exacts from him the price of his offences.

In addition there are verses interspersed throughout all the discussion which surprise the reader by their incongruity with the adjoining material. When Job is pointing out that the just are astonished at the suffering he is enduring at the hands of God he breaks off suddenly to say, "The innocent shall be raised up against the hypocrite. And the just man shall hold on his way: and he that hath clean hands shall be stronger and stronger" (xvii, 8-9). He then returns to his contention that his friends are talking foolishness and to a description of his agony.

Modern scholars point out that the text of the book is corrupt, almost the worst of all the books of the Old Testament. They remind us that, in addition to the usual sources of distortion to which all manuscripts are subject, the Old Testament underwent two, if not three, major upheavals which gave opportunity for alteration in

the text. Books written before 200 B.C.[1] were first recorded in the Old Phoenician alphabet. About 180 B.C. the square Hebrew alphabet was adopted. Some time within the next five or six hundred years the continuously written Hebrew text was altered by separating the words and about 500 A.D. vowel symbols were introduced into the previously consonantal text. Although tradition played a strong part in helping to preserve the original text through all these changes scholars trace what they judge to be errors back to these sources.[2]

Because the Book of Job was one of the works classed as "writings" as distinct from the Law and the Prophets, it had to undergo additional hazards to the purity of its text. It is believed to have circulated privately for some time before being accepted into the canon and during that period may have been copied more carelessly than were the canonical books. During this period it may have been augmented by the incorporation into its text of marginal notes or by quotations from other works now lost.[3]

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[1]Dates ranging from the tenth to the third centuries B.C. have been put forward for the Book of Job. For a survey of opinions on this subject see Rowley, pp. 197-198 and Pfeiffer, pp. 675-678.

[2]For a more complete discussion of the vicissitudes of the text of scripture see Pfeiffer, pp. 50-97.

[3]Job's speech about the inaccessibility of wisdom (ch. xxviii) and the speech of Eliu (chs. xxxii-xxxvii) are suspect, and there are numerous verses scattered throughout the book which are thought to have been originally marginal notes.

Finally when canonized in approximately 132 B.C. it was still subject to alteration by the scribes who have recorded some of the changes which they made[1] probably in the belief that they were restoring a correct reading. The scribes are said to have "preferred nonsense to an utterance which was objectionable on dogmatic or religious grounds"[2] and it is suspected that this preference has altered some of Job's more violent utterances although enough were left to arouse suspicion where Job's mildness seems out of keeping with the general tenor of his remarks elsewhere.

Modern scholarship therefore has eliminated some of the contradictions by ~~detecting~~ postulating deliberate or accidental alterations in the text. For the puzzling third cycle they suggest that Baldad's speech (chapter xxv) was originally longer and that there was at one time a speech for Sophar. These have been in part lost and the remainder has provided the incongruous portions of Job's speech where he advances their arguments. Other passages which ~~interfere with an~~ are unintelligible ~~reading of the text~~ as they stand are similarly shown to be misplaced or to have been incorporated into the text from some other source.[3]

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[1]Among the changes listed is Job vii, 20: from "I am become a burden to thee" (God) to "I am become a burden to myself" and Job xxxii, 3: from "they condemned God" to "they condemned Job". See Pfeiffer, p. 84.

[2]W. R. Arnold, quoted by Pfeiffer, p. 86.

[3]Modern readers are not necessarily less susceptible to error than mediaeval and their policy of suspecting the validity of the text has opened the door to as

For the mediaeval reader however such solutions were impossible. The book was an account of events which had taken place, a record of words which had been spoken. It was not a novel. Theodore of Mopsuestia had suggested that the author was a learned pagan who had treated the story of the patriarch as the Greeks were accustomed to treat their own legends in the drama, making irreverent alterations in the true story which everyone knew, but his opinion scandalized the Council of Constantinople whose members believed that the author was the Holy Ghost.[1] Criticism of the preservation of the text of scripture was by no means unknown[2] but those who undertook to explain the Book of Job did not suggest a corruption in the text to solve their problems. Even where they note a difference between the Vulgate and the Septuagint it is a source of added riches rather than a problem requiring them to pronounce one accurate and the other erroneous. They accepted the text before them and attempted to explicate it in such a way as to show Job's excellence and the goodness and mercy of God.

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many varieties of interpretation as did the mediaeval tendency to accept the text as it stood. Modern readers tend to accept as much as is consonant with their understanding of the text and reject what is incongruous with it just as the mediaevals tended to interpret expressions whose literal meaning they disliked in an allegorical way more acceptable to them.

[1]Theodore of Mopsuestia, P.G., LXVI, 697-698. In making use of the Patrilogia Graeca I have had to rely on the Latin translations which accompany the Greek text.

[2]See below, pp. 60-61.

This they did by accepting many passages now suspect as clear statements of Job's views which were presented in a more veiled way in his other speeches. Thus the very contradictions which make the book difficult made it possible for Middle English writers to find in it a useful source. They could overlook the thorny problem of divine justice which it raised but did not resolve and find in it a man whose sufferings were greater than those of any other and who, in the midst of those sufferings, had expressed his compliance to the will of God in words of sublime patience. If his words in some places seemed irreverent, there were other passages which showed his true meaning and provided a key by which the seeming irreverence could be correctly understood. If those words were not his in the original version of the text there was nothing to indicate this to mediaeval readers and if the text had been suspect they might have argued that the irreverent passages were the intrusions and not the pious ones.

Thus the contradictions and complications which the book contained provided alternatives from which the writer could select as much as was suitable for the work which he was creating. Passages which were incongruous with his purpose could be omitted and his version, far from seeming incomplete, might present greater unity than the work he was using as his source.

CHAPTER II

TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT

Like the rest of the Old Testament the Book of Job was known to western Europe in two Latin versions, the Old-Latin or Vetus Itala and the Vulgate. The text of these two Bibles is, Berger has pointed out, so different that there is no possibility of mistaking one for the other,[1] and this is true of the Book of Job in spite of the fact that both versions of it were the work of Jerome. The reason for this great difference lies in the texts from which he prepared his translations. For the first he used Origen's Greek Hexapla, a copy of which he had obtained from a library in Caesarea.[2] For the second he used the Hebrew version current in his day. Although both had the same original source they had been subjected for centuries to quite different forces.

The first Greek text of the Book of Job was made from a Hebrew Bible of the Egyptian rather than the Palestinian tradition. Jews who settled at Alexandria after the Babylonian exile brought with them or soon acquired texts of their sacred literature.[3] They exercised consid-

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[1]Berger, Histoire de la Vulgate, p. x.

[2]Sparks, p. 111.

[3]Oesterley and Robinson, p. 17.

erable care to keep their text in agreement with the Palestinian version but the revisions which were made from time to time may have applied particularly to the Pentateuch and vigilance may have been more relaxed with regard to other books of the Bible which had, Oesterley and Robinson say, "a lower grade of sanctity".[1] Since neither of the texts has survived their differences can only be judged by the Greek translation which was made from the Egyptian version and the versions which trace their origin back to the Palestinian text. From what is known of the text of the Book of Job in the first Greek version it differs so greatly from the Massoretic text that some authorities suspect that it was based on a shorter Hebrew version although most believe that the Greek translator abbreviated the full Hebrew text which he received.[2] Dhorme thinks that the author of this translation was an Alexandrian Hellenist "writing for a wide circle of readers and not for the purposes of the Synagogue".[3] The text he produced is approximately 378 stichoi shorter than the Massoretic version,[4] and Dhorme suggests that the translator shortened the text at pleasure as though in a hurry to finish.[5] Omissions do not represent the only change

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[1]Oesterley and Robinson, p. 18.

[2]See Driver and Gray, pp. lxxi-lxxxvi, for a full discussion of this problem.

[3]Dhorme, p. cxcvi.

[4]Gailey, p. 8. Dhorme estimates that it is approximately 600 stichoi shorter, p. cc.

[5]Dhorme, p. cxci.

effected by the translator. Comparison with the Massoretic text has caused some scholars to suggest that the translator's work was dictated by a definite editorial policy. Some changes seem to be only mistranslations due to a failure to understand the Hebrew text. Some seem due to a desire to represent Hebrew conceptions or customs by the closest Greek equivalent.[1] In addition however there are, it is frequently argued, many errors and deletions which are related to the theological views of the translator.[2] Whether deliberately or not, he avoided expressions which attributed anthropomorphic qualities to God, and replaced unpleasant words if they occurred in the same verse as the name of God, even if referring to someone else.[3]

Although the Septuagint is considerably shorter than the Hebrew it contains two passages not found in the latter. These are a much expanded speech of Job's wife (ii, 9), and an appendix from "the Syriac book" regarding the lineage of Job and tracing the line of the kings of Edom which country, it says, Job also ruled. It is not certain that the latter passage made part of the original Septuagint but it must have been included at a very early date for Aristeas who lived early in the first century B.C.[4] made reference to the information in it.[5]

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[1]Dhorme, p. cxcvii; p. cxcvi.

[2]Gard, pp. 6-31; Dhorme, p. cxcvii.

[3]Gard, pp. 32-70; Gehman, pp. 231-240.

[4]Pfeiffer, p. 72.

[5]Dhorme, p. xviii.

Origen revised the Greek text about 240-245,[1] adding what was missing in the Septuagint from the Greek translations of Theodotion and Aquila. He used diacritical marks to indicate the passages he had so added and also to indicate passages in the Septuagint for which he found no equivalent in the Hebrew.[2] This revised text, which formed the fifth column of the Hexapla, lost the diacritical marks in the course of transcription, became the standard Greek text and took over the name of the older version.[3]

The earliest known Latin translation of the Book of Job, part of the Old-Latin or Vetus Itala Bible, was a translation from the Greek of the ancient Septuagint. Like the text it translated, it was considerably shorter than the Hebrew, and reflected the modifications of that text which the Alexandrian translator had made.

In 382 Pope Damasus commissioned Jerome to make an official revision of the Old-Latin Bible.[4] The death of Damasus and Jerome's subsequent move from Rome to Jerusalem in 386[5] occurred while the work was in progress and the Book of Job was not completed until some time between 389 and 392.[6] For this recension Jerome used the Greek

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[1]Swete, p. 73.

[2]Ibid., pp. 69-72.

[3]Pfeiffer, pp. 107-111; Swete, pp. 77-78.

[4]Sparks, p. 111.

[5]Ibid., pp. 111-112.

[6]Dhorme, p. ccvi.

Hexapla of Origen,[1] and from it corrected errors in translation and added the missing portions.

Jerome says that his work restored between 700 and 800 stichoi to the text[2] but Dhorme believes this to be an exaggeration. The restoration was nevertheless considerable and Jerome's translation was a more accurate reflection than the Old-Latin had been of the Greek translation then in use. He retained the diacritical marks which Origen had used to indicate portions introduced into the Septuagint from other Greek translations and to indicate parts of the Septuagint which had no equivalent in the Hebrew. Just as they were omitted from subsequent copies of Origen's Greek text, they were omitted from subsequent copies of Jerome's Latin. They have however been restored as far as possible in the Patrilogia Latina,[3] which therefore gives some idea of the text as it must have been in the Old-Latin.

It seems probable that Jerome's recension of the Book of Job became the standard text of that book in Old-Latin Bibles written after he had completed it. With the exception of the Book of Job and the Psalms, all Jerome's first translation of the Bible disappeared shortly after it was completed.[4] His translation of these two books

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[1]Sparks, p. 111.

[2]P.L., XXVIII, 1080.

[3]P.L., XXIX, 59-114.

[4]Gailey, p. 5.

seems to have ousted the versions previously used in the Old-Latin. Three Latin versions of the Psalms have continued in use but they were all made by Jerome, two from the Septuagint and one from the Hebrew. Similarly the older versions of the Book of Job must have been replaced in Old-Latin Bibles by Jerome's first translation. It is Jerome's version that Sabatier prints as the text of the Book of Job in his eighteenth-century editions of the Old-Latin Bible, Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae.[1]

Jerome believed that the improvement he had made in the Latin Book of Job by this recension was not short of the difference which separates falsehood from truth[2] and in his preface to it he asked his correspondents to rejoice that now "blessed Job, who up to this time among the Latins had lain on the dunghill swarming with the worms of error, is whole and free from spot", and he added, "Thus (I speak rashly) I have made him to have what, in our tongue, he lacked."[3]

Although Jerome had been pleased with the improvement he had made in revising the Old-Latin text and bringing it into agreement with the Greek of Origen's Hexapla,

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[1]Gailey, p. 5. In Swete's account of surviving fragments of the Old-Latin version of the Old Testament he lists for Job only Fragment Floriacense, containing xl, 3-9, and readings from the margin of Codex Goth. Legionensis. (Swete, p. 96.)

[2]Swete, p. 102.

[3]Jerome, Praefatio, P.L., XXIX, 61-62.

he later decided to make a completely new translation. He had begun to study Hebrew under a Jewish rabbi[1] and had grown discontented with the Greek texts. Regarding the Hebrew Old Testament of the day as authoritative, he considered the deviations from it which he found in the Greek as inaccuracies. Because of this he undertook a new translation of the Psalter, the Prophets and the Book of Job, with other parts of the Old Testament, directly from the Hebrew. This work he completed about 405.[2]

Jerome's aim was to produce a Latin text which would accurately reflect the Hebrew of the Book of Job and to achieve this he usually translated the sense of the Hebrew into idiomatic Latin rather than keeping to an exactly literal rendering.[3] To do so presented him with no easy task for he found the original like an eel or murena to handle: the more tightly he tried to confine it, the more quickly would it slip away. Its meaning was also obscured, he said, by figures of speech so that while it said one thing, it did another.[4]

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[1]Sparks, p. 112.

[2]Ibid. Gailey, citing the authority of Ferd. Cavallera, Saint Jérôme, sa Vie et son Oeuvre, I, 148-149; II, 157, places both Jerome's translations between A.D. 389-392. (Gailey, p. 5.)

[3]Sparks, p. 115.

[4]"quod Graece rhetores vocant, ... dumque aliud loquitur, aliud agit." Jerome, Praefatio, P.L., XXVIII, 1081. Modern translators are unanimous in their agreement with Jerome's view that the text is difficult. One of them, Marvin H. Pope, says of it, "The language is ostensibly Hebrew, but with so many peculiarities that some scholars have wondered whether it might not be influenced by some other Semitic dialect" (p. xliii).

Despite these difficulties Jerome produced a text which earned the growing respect of the church during the next two centuries. It was this version which Cassiodorus (d. c. 565) incorporated into his edition of the Bible,[1] the Vulgate, which was to become the standard text of scripture in western Europe for almost a thousand years.[2]

Although Jerome's second translation became the official version of the Book of Job, the earlier translation survived in some copies of the Bible[3] and in the writings of the Church Fathers, among them Augustine's Adnotationes in Jobum.[4] It survived too, in a fragmentary form, in copies of the Vulgate text where substitution of parts of the earlier translation were among the many variations in the manuscripts. Berger says that by the mid-ninth century manuscripts were a mixture of excellent and execrable texts, in some of which the two translations of the same book were set down side by side, and sometimes mixed together in inextricable confusion.[5] This confusion

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[1]Sparks, p. 117.

[2]Berger, Histoire de la Vulgate, p. vii.

[3]Three manuscripts of the earlier version have survived. The Monastery of St. Gall preserves an eighth-century manuscript (No. 11), and two twelfth-century manuscripts (one in the Library of Tours, No. 18, and one in the Bodleian, No. 2426) are also extant. The St. Gall MS adheres to the text of the earlier translation as far as xxviii, 16 and then continues with the Vulgate text. The others contain the earlier version throughout but have been affected by the influence of the Vulgate. (Gailey, p. 7.)

[4]Gailey, p. 5.

[5]Berger, Histoire de la Vulgate, p. xvii.

was to some extent brought to an end by Alcuin when he prepared a standard version of the Bible at the request of Charlemagne.[1]

This recension did not provide an accurate text of the Bible, and Sparks claims that it was not Alcuin's intention to restore Jerome's readings (which, in the case of Job would be the readings of his second translation). He was striving only to produce a text which would provide a grammatical norm.[2] It is unlikely however that the corruptions in his text were due to the intrusion of the earlier version. The manuscript he used as the basis for his revision was brought to him from an English monastery because of the relative excellence of the English text.[3] That text was however a mixture of the ancient Irish text of Iona, the Roman text introduced into England by Augustine and the south Italian text of Cassiodorus which had been brought to Jarrow by Ceolfrid.[4] In this new standard version therefore the intrusion of readings from Jerome's first translation were likely no more frequent than other irregular readings but the text continued to be a source of variations in the understanding of the book.

The possibility that an incorrect manuscript is the source of a variation in literature must always be

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[1]Berger, Histoire de la Vulgate, p. xvii.

[2]Sparks, p. 119.

[3]Berger, Histoire de la Vulgate, pp. 5-6.

[4]Sparks, pp. 118-119.

entertained. In Bacon's opinion the text became corrupted by the work of people who knew the Bible only from quotations of it in the Church Fathers and altered the ordinary text to agree with the versions which they knew. "Others again", he continued,

> have corrected their versions to accord with the various quotations from the Bible read in the liturgy of the Church in which, as is well known, the actual wording had frequently been changed to facilitate public reading, and even to assist devotion.[1]

An attempt at radical revision and correction of the text was made by the scholars of the University of Paris but their activities so little impressed Bacon that he declared that their work, together with the tamperings of the Dominicans of Paris, had not restored Jerome's original text but rather had "rendered corruption incurable" because of the authority they lent to it.[2] In assessing a deviation from the biblical text in a work of literature therefore, the possibility of a variant text of the Bible cannot be overlooked.

Although the two versions differ from one another to such an extent that it sometimes requires imagination to perceive that they share a common ancestor,[3] only a few

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[1]Letter in Opus Majus, I, 77, quoted by F. A. Gasquet, "English Biblical Criticism", p. 14.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Some idea of the difference in the two versions can be seen in the following examples. The earlier text is taken from the version in P.L., XXIX, 59-114, and is given first in each case.

vi, 9: "Let the Lord begin and wound me, but let him not forever destroy me"; Vulgate: "[Who will grant] that he that hath begun may destroy me: that he may let loose his hand, and cut me off?"

of the differences influenced later accounts of the story and these were mostly differences of fact.

Job's home in the earlier translation is Ausis, in the later it is Hus. His wealth includes fifty yoke of oxen in the earlier, five hundred in the later. In the Vulgate Job's wife says to him, "Dost thou still continue in thy simplicity? Bless God, and die" (ii, 10). In the earlier text her words are

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vi, 15-20: "My kinsmen have not regarded me, as a torrent drying up or as a brook, they have passed me by. They who feared me, now have rushed in against me. As snow or as congealed ice when it has melted in the heat, it is not known what it was: thus I also am abandoned by all. I have perished and I am become an exile from my home. See the ways of the Themanites, the paths of the Sabaeans. They shall be slain because they follow confusion, who trust in cities and in wealth." Vulgate: "My brethren have passed by me, as the torrent that passes swiftly in the valleys. They that fear the hoar frost, the snow shall fall upon them. At the time when they shall be scattered they shall perish: and after it groweth hot they shall be melted out of their place. The paths of their steps are entangled: they shall walk in vain, and shall perish. Consider the paths of Thema, the ways of Saba, and wait a little while. They are confounded because I have hoped: they are come also even unto me, and are covered with shame."

vii, 15: "Thou wilt separate life from my spirit, and yet keep my bones from death." Vulgate: "So that my soul rather chooseth hanging and my bones death."

ix, 22-23: "One thing there is on account of which I said: Wrath slays the great and mighty, for the worthless men perish in the great death, but the just are laughed to scorn." Vulgate: "One thing there is that I have spoken: Both the innocent and the wicked he consumeth. If he scourge, let him kill at once, and not laugh at the pains of the innocent."

xiii, 15: "He who is powerful may slay me, which he has begun, however, I will speak and plead before him." Vulgate: "Although he should kill me, I will trust in him. But yet I will reprove my ways in his sight."

xvi, 9: "My falsehood has risen up against me. It has confronted me to my face." Vulgate: "My wrinkles bear witness against me: and a false speaker riseth up against my face."

> How long wilt thou hold out, saying, Behold, I wait yet a little while, expecting the hope of my deliverance? for behold, thy memorial is abolished from the earth, sons and daughters, the sorrows and pains of my womb which, in vain, I carried with anguish. And thou sittest in the rottenness of worms, all night long under the sky and I wandering about and begging from place to place, and from house to house, waiting until the sun sets and I may rest from my labours and groanings, which now beset me, but say some word against God and die.[1]

Job's friends are listed in the Vulgate as Eliphaz the Themanite, Baldad the Suhite and Sophar the Naamathite (ii, 11). In the earlier version they are called Eliphaz Themanites, king; Baldad Sauchites, tyrant; and Sophar Namaathes, king of the Mineans.[2] The earlier translation also provides the information, not in the Vulgate, that in offering holocausts for his children it is Job's custom to

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xix, 17: "Behold I laugh at reproach: I will not speak. I cry aloud and there is no judgment." Vulgate: "Behold, I shall cry suffering violence and no one will hear."

xix, 6: "Know then that it is the Lord that has troubled me, and raised his bulwark against me." Vulgate: "At least now, understand that God hath not afflicted me with an equal judgment, and compassed me with his scourges."

xxiii, 2: "Indeed I know that pleading is out of my hand." Vulgate: "Now also my words are in bitterness."

xxv, 3: "For let none think there is a respite for robbers: upon whom will there not come a snare from him?" Vulgate: "Is there any numbering of his soldiers? And upon whom shall not his light arise?"

xxviii, 4: "The torrent is cut off by reason of dust: so they that forget the way of justice are weakened by man and are moved." Vulgate: "The flood divideth from the people on their journey those whom the foot of the needy man hath forgotten and cannot be come at."

[1] P.L., XXIX, 66-67.

[2] Ibid., 67.

offer "one calf for the sin of their souls".[1] Finally the earlier text closes with an appendix not in the Vulgate which reads,

> This man is interpreted from the Syriac book as living in the land of Ausis, on the borders of Idumea and Arabia: and his name before was Jobab; and he took to wife an Arabian woman. He begot a son whose name was Ennon. He himself however was the son of Zara, one of the sons of Esau, by his mother Bosorrha, so that he was the fifth from Abraham. And these are the kings who reigned in Edom, in which country he also reigned. First, Balaac, son of Boor, and the name of his city was Dennaba. After Balaac however Jobab, who is called Job. After him Casum, who was governor from the region of Theman. After this Adad son of Barad, who destroyed Madian in the field of Moab: and the name of his city was Gethem. But the friends who came to him were Eliphaz, of the sons of Esau, king of the Themanites, Baldad, ruler of the Saucheans, Sophar, king of the Minaeans.[2]

Although not in the Vulgate this information became part of the accepted stock of knowledge regarding Job and appears from time to time throughout the period under study here.

The Vulgate version of the story was however always the chief source of information about Job and by the thirteenth century translations of it began to be made into the vernacular.

Those in French were earlier than those in English. MS Arsenal 5211 which dates from the beginning of

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[1] P.L., XXIX, 63.

[2] Ibid., 113-114. It is clear that the "Syriac book" had identified Job with Jobab and has given him the lineage of the latter from Gen. xxxvi, 17 and 31-35, except that Zara is the grandson of Esau and Bosorrha although the names are spelled quite differently in the Vulgate. The identification of Eliphaz with the son of Esau is from Gen. xxxvi, 10.

the thirteenth century[1] contains an abridged version of several books of the Bible in French.[2] In addition to its abridgement of all forty-two chapters of the Book of Job it includes both of Jerome's prefaces to it.[3] Berger comments that the translation, though imperfect, is not without merit and has nothing in common with the later translation known as the "Paris Bible".[4]

The Paris Bible was a French translation made about 1250[5] and it has been conjectured that it was made by the stationers of the University of Paris when the Dominicans there were engaged in a revision of the Latin Bible.[6] This Bible exists in a number of manuscripts, among them B.N. fr. 6, 7 and 899.[7] Variations in the text of parts of this translation must soon have taken place for MS Arsenal 5056, a fine manuscript dating from the second half of the thirteenth century, is another example of the Paris Bible but the text of the Book of Job in it is not exactly like that of any other manuscript,[8] while Harley 616 which emanated from the same workshop as

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[1]Berger, La Bible française, p. 101.

[2]Ibid., p. 100.

[3]Ibid., p. 102.

[4]Ibid., pp. 104-105.

[5]Ibid., p. 157.

[6]Deanesly, The Lollard Bible, pp. 19-20, n. 3.

[7]Berger, La Bible française, p. 114.

[8]Ibid.

Arsenal 5056 contains a text so different that Berger says it cannot possibly have been produced from the same master copy.

The entire text of the Bible may also have been available about this time to the reading public in an Anglo-Norman prose version, a copy of which, executed in England about 1260, is said to have survived.[1] This may be the same text as that of B.N. MS fr. 1 which was prepared in England for John de Welles and his wife Maud some time before 1361.[2] French Bibles were known in England as is attested by Miss Deanesly's analysis of 7,578 wills made in England before 1526 which shows that nine French Bibles were bequeathed in them.[3]

About 1295 Guyart Desmoulins translated Peter Comestor's Historia Scholastica into French under the title Bible Historiale and added the Book of Job which Comestor had omitted. Guyart says that in preparing this work he patterned his method on the "hystoires les escolastres" except in the case of Proverbs and the Book of Job which were not in that work but which he included "pour la bonté d'eulx".[4] This method, Jean Bonnard explains, was to recount only the events and to analyze the

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[1]The Holy Bible in its Earliest English Versions, I, iii, n. y.

[2]Berger, La Bible française, p. 231.

[3]Deanesly, The Lollard Bible, pp. 392-398.

[4]MS B.N. fr. 159, f. 1c, quoted by J. Bonnard, Les Traductions de la Bible, p. 7.

long discourses which fill up the book, or at times simply to pass over them in silence.[1] Guyart however does not pass over the discourses in the Book of Job in silence. When he has recounted the story of the first two chapters and reached the discussion he says,

> After this, Job opened his mouth and cursed the hour when he was born, and spoke many words which no one ought to translate, and also spoke for a long time and his friends with him. And these words which they said to one another are of such strong Latin and full of so great a mystery that no one can understand this mystery unless he is a very great scholar of divinity. And therefore I did [not] translate it here. For no one ought to dare to translate it, for the lay folk could be led astray by it. I am going now to the end of the Book of Job where Our Lord took notice of his penitence.[2]

Later revisers of the Bible Historiale did not share Guyart's scruple on this score and added more and more of the scriptural text.[3] Among these revisions was one made by Raoul de Preslis for King Charles V, c. 1377.[4] Raoul did not make a new translation of the Book of Job

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[1]MS B.N. fr. 159, f. 1c, quoted by J. Bonnard, Les Traductions de la Bible, p. 7.

[2]B.M. MS MC 17EVII; f. 197b-198a: Apres ce ouuri iob sa bouche si maudist leure que il fus nez et dist moult de parolles que nulz ne doit translater et si parlerent moult longuement li ami a lui. Et ces parolles quil distrent lun alautre sont de si fort latin et plaines de si grant mistere que nulz nen puet le mistere entendre sil nest trop grant clers de diuinite. Et pour ce le tranzlatai ie ci. Car nulz ne les deuroit oser translater. Car la laie gent y pourroient erree [sic]. Si men irai auant a la fin du liure iob comment notre seigneurs regarda a sa penitence.

[3]Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society, II, 377.

[4]Berger, La Bible française, p. v.

for this Bible, but borrowed the text of a thirteenth-century Paris Bible, with, Berger tells us, little improvement.[1]

Guyart des Moulins's curtailed version of the Book of Job, which reproduced only the first two chapters and vv. 7-16 of the last chapter of the scriptural book, came to be known as the petit Job, the standard thirteenth-century Paris Bible providing the longer text to which the name grand Job was given.[2]

The distinction between the grand Job and the petit Job has been used as a criterion in the division of the families of the complete Bibles historiales which have survived in manuscript form. Those classed as petites Bibles historiales do not contain the full text of Chronicles, the Esdras, Nehemiah or Job. In the Bibles moyennes the grand Job is added to the petite Bible and in the Grandes Bibles are added all the books which had been omitted from the moyennes.[3] Quite frequently the texts of both the petit Job and the grand Job are included, as is the case with the Bible of the Duc de Berry from which Guyart's objection was quoted above.[4]

French verse of about this time provides two versions of the Book of Job. One, a rhymed paraphrase in the

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[1]Berger, La Bible française, pp. 109-110.

[2]Bonnard, pp. 7-8.

[3]Berger, La Bible française, p. 189.

[4]See p. 67.

Picard dialect (MS Arsenal 3142, ff. 166b-178e), does not follow the Bible and is, Bonnard says, like a sermon in verse. It dates from the end of the thirteenth century.[1] The other, perhaps a little later, is in the Bible de Macé de la Charité (MS B.N. fr. 401 and Turensis 906). In it the story and parts of some of the speeches are given and in places the allegorical significance from Gregory the Great's Moralia in Job is also included.[2]

A prose work sometimes called the Histoire de la Bible gives a version of the biblical stories which differs very noticeably from the accounts of them in the Bible.[3] Ohlander suggests that this may be a prose redaction of a poem contained in MSS B.N. fr. 898 and 902.[4] Both these manuscripts however break off abruptly at IV Kings xxviii, and therefore they do not include the Book of Job.[5] The Histoire de la Bible however continues after the poem breaks off and contains an account of the trials of Job. It is found in two manuscripts, B.N. fr. 6260 and 9562, but although the story they relate is the same, the wording in each is different, so that they seem to represent very faithful translations of the same source

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[1]Bonnard, p. 128.

[2]Ibid., pp. 67-84.

[3]Berger, La Bible française, p. 54.

[4]Ohlander, IV, 6.

[5]Ibid.

by two different men.[1]

The story of Job in the Histoire de la Bible varies slightly from that in the Bible and, since it is available only in manuscript, it may be useful to outline these differences here. As in the Bible Job is virtuous and prosperous and the father of seven sons and three daughters. Satan, the "prince of death", tests his virtues in a series of disasters, news of which is brought by messengers. First the Sabaean hordes carry off the oxen and asses and slay Job's children. Job receives the news without mourning and praises God. He continues to praise God when told that the Caldeans have driven off his camels. The destruction of the house of the eldest son by a wind from the desert presents some difficulty to the author because the children have already died at the hands of the Sabaeans so the house seems merely a place of sentimental value because Job's children used to gather there. The messenger repeats that they have been killed by the Sabaeans and at this Job tears his coat and cuts his hair, though he continues to praise God.

Satan next returns to heaven and must admit that although God has moved him against Job and he has tempted him (in the Bible it is God Who says this to Satan) it has been all in vain. God explains that this is because He

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[1]For example, the opening of Job in MS 6260 is "Ung homme estoit en la terre de hus nomme Job qui estoit simple et droicturier doubtant dieu et furant tout mal." MS 9562 reads, "Un hom est en la terre de hus qui out nomme Job si estoit cil bier simple et droiturer et deu doutaunt et departaunt de chescun mal."

has protected Job in Satan's hands, reserving his spirit to Himself.

Leprosy is Satan's next weapon and with it he so disfigures Job that his friends, Eliphaz, Baldad and Sophar, do not recognize him when they come to console him. Overcome with grief at his misery they tear their clothes, put dust on their heads and sit silent before him for seven days.

Job thinks the friends will not speak because they disdain him and he breaks out in a curse of the day of his birth which closely paraphrases chapter iii of the Book of Job. The first cycle of speeches condenses the first cycle in the Bible (iv-viii) and a second which follows uses parts of the second and third cycles in the Bible (xix-xxiii). The speech of Eliu is omitted and God speaks only to condemn Sophar and his friends for having provoked Job to speak so greatly against God by having spoken so much to him. They are restored to favour at Job's intercession.

God then cures Job, gives him double his previous possessions and restores his children to life. Job receives great joy in his descendants and calls his daughters Dine, Cassie and Cornustebie. After a long life he dies.

Somewhat later than the Histoire de la Bible is a Picard Bible called Partie de la Bible en wallon which is contained in a manuscript (Arsenal 2035) which dates from the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth

century. In it the Book of Job appears in résumé, differing in this from most of the other books of the Bible which the manuscript contains since they follow the text of the Vulgate.[1] Berger quotes the final words of the Book of Job from this manuscript which read,

> Explicit Job qui fu rois de Edon, que on appiella Bosra, et eut a nom Jebal, selonc que li aucun dient, et voellent dire que Baldach fu Balaam li fuis Beor, qui vit l'estoile. Il fu entre la mort Ysaac le fil Abraham et Moisem.[2]

The earliest English version of the Book of Job is that of Aelfric (d. c. 1020) who translated parts of both the Old and New Testaments into Old English.[3] It is a résumé of the Book of Job, accurately reproducing the first two chapters and the last ten verses of the last chapter, as the French petit Job was to do but also giving parts of

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[1]Berger, La Bible française, pp. 259-260.

[2]Ibid., p. 261. This is reminiscent of the appendix to the Book of Job in Jerome's first translation although the information is curiously garbled. The name "Jebal" for "Jobab" is fairly remote, and the name "Bosra" which replaces "Edom" seems like a corruption of the name of Bosorrha (Basemath in the Vulgate), the mother of Jobab's father Zare (Gen. xxxvi, 13). Zara was Zara of Bosra before he became king of Edom on the death of Bela, the son of Beor, who apparently died without a direct heir (Gen. xxxvi, 31-33). Bela the son of Beor had been written "Balaac son of Boor" in Jerome's first translation and the identification of Balaac with Baldad the friend of Job is not too remote. That he should then be identified with Balaam is interesting because Balaam is linked with Job in one of the legends of the rabbis which was told to account for the undeserved sufferings of Job. See below, p. 216.

[3]Aelfric's text has been published twice: Heptateuchus, Liber Job, et Evangelium Nicodemi; Anglo-Saxonice. Historiae Judith Fragmentum; Dano-Saxonice. Ed. Edward Thwaites (Oxford, 1698), pp. 164-168; and Analecta Anglo-Saxonica. Ed. B. Thorpe (London, 1846), pp. 159-164.

the central passages. Aelfric's version was rewritten in the West Midland dialect in the twelfth century and under the title the "Forbisne of Job" is discussed later.

The whole of the Book of Job was not translated into English until the Wycliffite Bibles made their unauthorized appearance in the Hereford version of about 1382 and the Purvey version, rather less confidently dated 1388.[1] The Hereford version is in angular and inartistic English and Miss Deanesly has suggested that in it the translator was striving for an extremely literal accuracy.[2] Both the Wycliffite versions give faithful translations of the Vulgate Book of Job. Although these texts had the stigma of Lollardy upon them, the Purvey version at least enjoyed a wide and continuing circulation as is attested by the survival of some one hundred and eighty manuscripts.[3] Indeed Miss Deanesly has shown that, in spite of the fact that Arundel had banned it in the constitutions of the provincial council of Oxford in 1408, it passed current in the most orthodox circles because it came to be accepted as a translation made prior to Wycliffe's time.[4]

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[1] The Holy Bible in the Earliest English Versions, I, xvii-xxiv.

[2] Deanesly, The Significance of the Lollard Bible, p. 23.

[3] Craigie, p. 139.

[4] Deanesly, pp. 12-15.

Other English treatments of the Book of Job including that in A Middle English Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament, "The Life of Job", the "Pety Job" and "The Lessouns of the Dirige" will be examined more closely in later chapters.

CHAPTER III

THE TEXT IN MIDDLE ENGLISH LITERATURE

The text of the Book of Job was used in Middle English literature as was that of other books of the Bible; to present an example which the reader was admonished to follow, to form a contrast or resemblance to the story the author was telling, or to bring the weight of biblical authority to support the point the writer was putting forward. In some instances the text did not, in moving from the Book of Job to the work quoting or alluding to it, alter its significance to any great extent. In others, and these represent by far the greater number of such borrowings, the text was very markedly changed and conveyed a very different impression from that which it had had in its original context.

Extended accounts of Job's ordeal and restoration have been preserved in three Middle English versions: an adaptation of Aelfric's "Forbisne of Job",[1] a portion of the Middle English Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testa-

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[1] Early English Homilies, pp. 123-129. Sparks lists Aelfric as one of the writers who continued to use the Old-Latin Bible long after it had been officially abandoned (p. 116) but on the whole his homily is remarkably faithful to the Vulgate text for the portions he uses. This is as true of Aelfric's original text as of the Middle English adaptation. Cf. Heptateuchus, Liber Job, etc., pp. 164-168, and Analecta Anglo-Saxonica, pp. 36-44.

ment[1] and "The Life of Job".[2]

All three seem to be based mainly on the Vulgate version of the Book of Job but traces of influence from Jerome's earlier translation in the Old-Latin Bible can be found. In Aelfric's account the assembled company of heaven is called "Godes ængles"[3] as they are in the Old-Latin,[4] not the "sons of God" as in the Vulgate. The patriarch's years in Aelfric's account total 248,[5] which is the number the earlier translation gives him[6] rather than the more vague statement of the Vulgate that he lived 140 years after his recovery and died "an old man and full of days" (xlii, 16). Aelfric also says Job was the fifth man from Abraham,[7] information contained in the epilogue which occurs in the Septuagint and the Old-Latin[8] but not in the Hebrew[9] or the Vulgate.

Other variants also seem to indicate the influence of the Old-Latin. The Metrical Paraphrase says that Job

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[1]Vol. IV, 9-40.

[2]Early English and Norse Studies, pp. 89-96.

[3]Early English Homilies, pp. 120 and 123.

[4]P.L., XXIX, 67.

[5]Early English Homilies, p. 128.

[6]P.L., XXIX, 113.

[7]Early English Homilies, p. 128.

[8]P.L., XXIX, 114.

[9]For the contents of the Hebrew text I have had to rely on the various English translations available, especially the RSV, Dhorme and Pope.

had fifty yoke of oxen,[1] the number given him in the earlier Latin Bible,[2] rather than the five hundred yoke of which the Vulgate speaks. "The Life of Job" says that Job's soul is conveyed to glory with the patriarchs when Christ harrows hell,[3] and this idea seems to have been due, indirectly at least, to the passage at the end of the Old-Latin which reads, "It is written however that he will arise with those whom the Lord raises up."[4]

In all three of these Middle English versions Job's story is shortened and simplified and it is evident that the authors wished to present the tale in a way that would hold the interest of the audience they addressed. This audience was for the most part "lewed" although from its elevated diction "The Life of Job" gives the impression that the author had a more learned group in mind. Of the three, Aelfric was most successful in drawing his material into a unified whole, while the author of the Metrical Paraphrase imparted the greatest liveliness to his account. Each of the authors made a different selection from the alternatives offered by the Book of Job so that the three accounts give three quite different impressions of their source.

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[1] Metrical Paraphrase, l. 14118; the homily Estote Prudentes et Vigilate in Orationibus also speaks of "half hundre giokes of ocsen", Old English Homilies, 2nd ser., p. 195.

[2] P.L., XXIX, 63.

[3] "The Life of Job", ll. 179-182.

[4] P.L., XXIX, 113.

In the "Forbisne" the account given in the Book of Job has been considerably simplified lest its more profound passages should be beyond the grasp of the listeners or its length should bore them. Aelfric's statement of his intention has been carried over into the Middle English adaptation and reads,

> Nu wylle we eow hwæt lytles beo him [Job] gereccen, for þan þe seo deopnysse þære race oferstihó ure andgit, & eac swyðer þære læwedre. Man sceal læwede mannen secgen beo heora andgittes mæðe, swa þat[1] heo ne beon þurh þa deopnysse æmode, ne þurh þa langsumnysse geæðrytte.[2]

Aelfric has exercised considerable skill in abridging the biblical account. The story of Job's losses and his meekness in submitting to them remains unaltered, except for a few explanatory sentences, but the curse on the day of his birth (chapter iii) has been omitted, and this change strengthens the logic of Aelfric's structure. Without this complaint, the friends open the conversation with an unprovoked reproach, suggesting that it is for his sins that Job is punished and taunting him with the words, "Wite com ofer þe, & þu ateoredest; sarnysse þe hrepode, & þu eart geunrotsod. Hwar is nu þin Godes ege & þin strengðe? Hwar is þin geðyld & þinra dæden fullfremednysse?"[3] Their other arguments are summarized by saying that they "mid manegan þrafungan hine geswænctan".[4] With

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[1]Here and in all subsequent quotations from this work the contraction for "þat" which occurs in Rubie Warner's edition of the Early English Homilies has been expanded.

[2]Early English Homilies, p. 123.

[3]Ibid., p. 126.

[4]Ibid.

Job's initial complaint disposed of, the friends' attack becomes completely gratuitous; they have come to comfort but they have disgraced that intention.[1] It is perfectly logical then that God rebukes them when he appears and does not rebuke Job. Job has been patient throughout and crowns his virtues by praying for his friends. At this prayer God receives his face ("þeh Jobes ansene wære atelice toswollen, & his lic eall maðen weolle"), forgives the friends and restores Job's health and prosperity.[2]

Job's speeches have been reduced sharply. His opening words are a faithful translation of the Vulgate verses,

> O that my sins, whereby I have deserved wrath, and the calamity that I suffer, were weighed in a balance [Job vi, 2]. . . . You dress up speeches only to rebuke [vi, 26a]: and you endeavour to overthrow your friend [vi, 27b]. . . . The life of man upon earth is a warfare, and his days are like the days of a hireling [vii, 1].[3]

After an explanation that this warfare is against the devil and earns the bliss of heaven for God's chosen, the speech continues. The second portion is also gathered from rather widely scattered parts of the book (vii, 5; xxx, 16b, 17, 19; vii, 16b; xix, 25-27), but these portions are not nearly as skilfully blended into a unit. Each section is introduced with "eft he cwæð" and this rather clumsy device breaks up the unity of the speech.

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[1] Early English Homilies, p. 126.

[2] Ibid., p. 127.

[3] Ibid., p. 126.

Aelfric may however have used it in order to make it clear that he was omitting part of his source, for at the end of this speech he says, "We sæigden eow, & get secgeð, þat we ne mugen eall þas raca eow beo ændebyrdnysse secgen, for þan þe seo boc is swyðe mycel, & hire digele andgit is ofer ure mæðe to smeagenne."[1]

One of the most deft touches of Aelfric's summary is the way in which he makes use of Job's catalogue of his virtues. He selects brief passages from the speech with which Job closes the discussion and moves them to the opening of the story so that they form an explanation of the virtues which caused God to regard Job as peerless on earth, simple, upright, God-fearing and abstaining from evil. Although he takes the details of Job's virtues from different parts of a long speech Aelfric draws them together, adjusting the grammar where necessary to provide a unified whole. It reads,

> Ic alesde hremende þearfen, & þan steopbearne, þe buten fultume wæs, ic geheolp [xxix, 12], & weodewen heortan ic gefrefrede. Ic wæs geembscryd mid rihtwisnysse [13b, 14a], ic wæs blinde mæn ege, & healten fot, & þearfene fæder [15, 16a]. Of fleosen minen scepen wæren gehleowde þearfena siden [xxxi, 20b], & ic þearfen ne forwernde þæs þe heo gernden [16a]; ne ic ne æt ane minne hlaf buten steopbearnen [17a], ne ic ne blissode on minen manigfealden welen [25a]. Ne fægenode ic on mines feondes hryre [29a], ne læig ælðeodig man wiðuten minen hegen, ac min dure geopenede symle wegferendan. Ne behydde ic mine synnen, ne ic on minen bosme ne bedigelode mine unrihtwisnysse [32, 33].[2]

Aelfric forestalls his listeners' objection that it is not

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[1] Early English Homilies, p. 127.

[2] Ibid., p. 124.

very modest of Job to claim these virtues for himself by saying, "Ne saede Job þiss for gelpe, ac for þan þe he wæs ealle mannen to bisne gesett",[1] an explanation which also accounts for his having chosen to retain these particular parts of Job's speeches.

Altogether Aelfric has produced a unified account of the Job story, one intended as the title suggests to provide an example for other men to follow, rather than one which might have disturbed the uneducated audience he addressed by confusing them with too full an account of the sayings of the man who was famed for his patience. In closing Aelfric asks any learned man who reads his version not to criticize the abridgement he has made. The learned man's own understanding can inform him fully about the matter and what is written here is enough for the uneducated although they cannot know all the profound secrets the book contains.[2]

Unlike the "Forbisne" which reflects its selection from the text of the Book of Job with the fidelity of a translation, the "Job" portion of the Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament bears little verbal resemblance to the biblical source and throughout gives the impression that a creative imagination has been allowed to work freely on the story it undertakes to retell. The creative imagination may not have been that of the author of the

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[1] Early English Homilies, p. 124.

[2] Ibid., p. 128.

Metrical Paraphrase but as no extant source for the "Job" chapter has been found there is as yet no proof that it was not.[1]

At the opening of his long poem the author of the Metrical Paraphrase advises his reader of the purpose he intends for his work. He explains,

> This buke is of grett degre,
> Os all wettys that ben wyse,
> ffor of the bybyll sall yt be
> the poyntes that ar mad most in price,
> Als maysters of dyuinite
> and on, the maystur of storyse,
> ffor sympyll men soyn forto se,
> settes yt þus in this schort assyse;
> And in moyr schort maner
> is my mynd forto make yt,
> That men may lyghtly leyre
> to tell and vnder take yt.
> (ll. 13-14)[2]

This purpose leads the author to enliven his account with material quite independent of the biblical text. When God asks Satan, "whore abowt now has þou bene?" (l. 14150), Satan not only replies that he has been seeking sinners on every side--and has found some--but, he adds with jocular malice, "þor is my bourd to gare þem byd/tyll I may turment þem with tene" (ll. 14155-156). The addition seems intended to disturb any false sense of security which the audience might have been enjoying. The incident between Job and his wife (ii, 9-10) offered the

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[1]The problem of a source for this version of the Job story is discussed more fully in Appendix B.

[2]This passage is quoted from Vol. I of the Metrical Paraphrase. All subsequent references are taken from Vol. IV. The "maystur of storyse" is of course Peter Comestor whose Historica Scholastica did not include the Book of Job.

poet an opportunity to keep the attention of his simple reader which he grasps by reporting,

> So os he rested in yll aray,
> his wyf turment hym more to teyne.
> "now may men se," þus con scho say,
> "of what condycions þou hath bene.
> blyse god and dy and wend þi way,
> for oþer welthys is none to wene.
> þou has not plessed þi god to pay,
> þat is wele by þi sorow sene."
> (ll. 14353-360)

A lively asperity increases the dramatic quality of the discussion. Job tells Eliphaz bluntly, "I haue sorow enogh/yf ȝe make me no more" (ll. 14471-472). Speeches offer curtly worded advice. Baldad, having expressed his astonishment that Job claims to have done nothing to deserve the punishments he suffers, finishes,

> Yf god ware in gud wyll
> þi comforth to encrese,
> Swylke spech þi spede may spyll,
> and þerfor hald þi pese.
> (ll. 14553-556)

Job is meek in his reply at this point but he too can express his exasperation with words which might spice a village argument:

> Þerfor I wold ȝe wentt your way
> and lett me lyg here law and lame.
> And when ȝe part me fro,
> I ask of god þis boyne
> Þat here come never mo
> to dere me als ȝe haue done.[1]
> (ll. 14755-760)

Thus there is to be found in this account some of the human interest which the Wakefield Master and others introduced into the biblical stories in the mystery plays.

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[1] In another place too Job encourages his guests to leave and not return (ll. 14875-876).

From the merest suggestion in scripture the poet develops elaborate arguments for the friends to use against Job. In the Bible Satan had questioned the disinterestedness of Job's piety saying, "Hast not thou made a fence for him, and his house, and all his substance round about: blessed the works of his hands, and his possession hath increased on the earth?" (Job i, 10). From this the poet's imagination produces Sophar's accusation that when he was rich Job was so powerful that if he wronged anyone the injured person would not dare to retaliate, while on the other hand if anyone harmed Job his retainers would swiftly repay the injury (ll. 14641-648).[1] A similar interpretation is given to the detail of Job's prosperity in the past which he reports saying, "They that heard me waited for my sentence, and being attentive held their peace at my counsel. To my words they durst add nothing: and my speech dropped upon them" (Job xxix, 21-22). In the poem the subject of Job's eloquence becomes part of Baldad's second speech in which he contrasts the ease with which Job attained his prosperity with the hard struggle the friends have had. He attributes this in part to Job's ability to speak convincingly, saying,

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[1]It is also possible that the poet had in mind Job's comment on the wicked man, "Who shall reprove his way to his face? And who shall repay him what he hath done?" (Job xxi, 31). On the other hand he may have created Sophar's attack quite independent of any basis in scripture. However it would be typical of his lively imagination to have built it up from such scant material.

god gaf þe myȝt to mell with mowth
be for all folk both fere and nere,
And sotell carpying non we cowth
bot comyn course of craftes clere.
(ll. 14777-780)

The freedom with which the poet has here transferred a speech from one speaker to another is to be found again when he uses an idea from an early speech by Eliphaz, "Man is born to labour, and the bird to fly" (v, 7),[1] and augments it by taking words from Job (Job xiv, 1-2) which he reports as,

homo natus de muliere,
he says a man of A woman born,
hic breui viuens tempore,
in lytyll tym his lyf is for lorn,
And fylled with fayndyngs sall he be
and with myschefes mydday and morn,
Ryȝt os A flour is fayr to se
and sone wast als yt was be forn.
(ll. 14917-924)

The poet's flexibility in handling his source extends also to rearranging the order of his material. After the friends have left, annoyed with Job's intransigent attitude, and Job has hastened their departure with the words, "wold god þat ȝe ware gone/so þat ȝe mett neuer more with me" (ll. 14933-934), Job turns to God for consolation and the prayer which he utters at this point is a composite of fragments from speeches most of which occur much earlier in the story as it appears in the Bible.[2]

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[1]This idea seems to be the source of two parts of this speech, "ffor þi care comys of kynd,/yf þou þe wele a vyse" (ll. 14913-914) and "So ere we ylkon wroyȝt/to trayuell tray and teyne" (ll. 14925-926).

[2]Scriptural passages which contribute to this speech include: Job vii, 16; xiv, 20; x, 9, 10; xxix, 5, 8-10 (?); xxx, 6; x, 7 (?); and Luke xxiii, 43; John xv, 39-44. The treatment is as usual extremely free.

Later after God has shown his displeasure with Job, the latter's prayer of penitence, greatly expanded from that in the Bible, quotes Job x, 20 and contains hints of xiii, 26 and x, 22.

Lively and interesting as the Metrical Paraphrase is, its solution is not as satisfying as is Aelfric's. Of the two rebukes with which the Book of Job ends, the poet has elected to retain only that addressed to Job and it comes as something of a shock to find that God is "noyȝt well payd" (l. 15051) with a prayer which, although it continues to protest that the speaker's pains exceed his sins, ends by saying,

> bot at þi lyst, schort or lang,
> and at þi wyll all bus[1] be wroyȝt.
> In þe I trow and trest
> þat þou my sawle sayue.
> lord, led me als þou lyst,
> I kepe noyȝt els to craue.
> (ll. 15043-048)

God's displeasure with Job is based on three considerations. His claim that he is righteous is pronounced tantamount to claiming equality with God Who alone is righteous; the innocence he protests is not worth much because his wealth protected him from any provocation to sin; and now when he has been subjected to misfortune his behaviour has been enough to lose him any claim to eternal bliss (ll. 15050-096). In the second of these denunciations God's view is not only very much like that of the

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[1]Thus the text, a footnote shows that the Longleat MS reads "must".

friends[1] (God and the friends agree on many points in the biblical account though neither mentions this one) but his view is also substantially that of Satan in the opening stanzas (ll. 14164-176). By his selection among the alternatives which the Book of Job offers, the poet has intensified rather than removed the possibility of seeing in Job's behaviour proof that the devil was right and God wrong. It is also somewhat unsatisfactory that the friends who have spoken so abusively to Job in the midst of his anguish are not called to account but are allowed to slip away before the judge arrives.

The poet has however used both discussion and verdict to bring out his main point, that no one is free from sin and that therefore no amount of suffering is too great to be deserved. Even virtue does not raise man above deserving pain since God's gifts or His grace are the sole source of virtuous actions. Job therefore is not, in this work, the saint of patience, an attribute for which he is hardly remarkable in the Book of Job, but is rather an example of penitence. Though not faithful to the biblical

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[1]The friends have expressed shock that Job claims to be innocent (ll. 14431-432; 14515-528; 14665-668). They insist that everyone sins and Job is justly punished for his misdoings (ll. 14438-445; 14511-512); that it is wrong to boast of good works (ll. 14437-438) since God is the author of any good action (ll. 14629-634); that in saying his penance is greater than his sins Job has challenged the justice of God (ll. 14513-514); that his present speech merits all he suffers (ll. 14669-676). He may have been meek in the past but because of his wealth and power no one ever crossed him, and although he spoke pleasantly, he gave no concrete aid to others (ll. 14641-652; 14809-820).

story the poem retains more of the discussion than any of the other Middle English accounts and having given the substance of Job's speeches it may have seemed to the poet that exemplary penitence was the best virtue he could fairly attribute to the patriarch.

The third of these extended accounts, "The Life of Job" at first dismisses the visit of the friends with a single stanza:

> The frendes of Iob, of grete generosite,
> Heryng of his troble and fatall aventure,
> Cam unto hym to comforth, councell, and se,
> Rentid theire vestures for doloure and love pure,
> Sore sorowed and wepte for his perverture,
> VII dayes and nyghtes by hym, then downe sittyng,
> With many dyverse argumentes unto hym rehersyng.
> (ll. 106-112)

There is little here for God to condemn in either the friends or in Job so the poet, who has moved God's appearance ahead so that it occurs midway through the poem, reports that God rebuked Job "for that intente/That he tofore tym had his wyfe cursed." This cursing had occurred when she urged him to abandon his simplicity. In this account the word seems to have lost the good sense of "lack of duplicity" and to have assumed its other sense of "stupidity", as she says to Job,

> 'Yet in thi simplicite
> Thou here arte permanent? Corse thi God and dye than!
> Thou beste, what is thi pacience nowe in thyn adversite?
> This shalt thou never recover, trust verely me.'
> (ll. 93-96)

To this contemptuous speech Job answers mildly, "'Folysshe woman, I counsell the, be styll,/For he that takyth gode thyng sumtyme must take ill'" (ll. 97-98). This is a very

mild "curse" but if Job is to be the example of patience he must curb his tongue under the greatest provocation. Hence God's reproof. An opportunity to prove that he has profited by this rebuke is soon provided when his wife, again angry with him, has "with many seducious wordes openly/There hym rebuked with language most sharply" (ll. 130-131). Job passes this second test and the poet tells that he "all suffered and thout yt for the best/To observe pacience and so to leve in rest" (ll. 132-133). Having submitted thus Job is pronounced as gold tried by fire and is restored to health and prosperity.

The diverse arguments of the friends are now revealed to be "contrarye to Goddes will" and God appears to rebuke them for their "unrightfull speche" (ll. 151 and 149). Job is entreated to pray for them and when he does God gives him double the possessions of his first prosperity.

Thus this account has retained the rebukes of both Job and the friends although the cause of the rebuke in Job's case is changed and that to the friends is for unstated arguments. From this solution Job emerges with his record untarnished since only in a man of superlative virtue would so mild an offence merit a visitation by God Himself.

The judgments made by God in these three accounts represent a variety of selections from the material which the Book of Job provides, but they do not provide an instance in which the judgment corresponds to that of the

biblical story. Aelfric's story rebukes the friends because they have not spoken as rightly to God as His servant Job has done.[1] In the Metrical Paraphrase the friends escape censure but Job does not.[2] In "The Life of Job" the friends are censured on grounds similar to those on which the "Forbisne of Job" rebukes them, and Job is also rebuked. However although "The Life of Job" is like the Bible in having both reproofs, it provides a very different reason for God's displeasure with Job--that he has spoken harshly to his wife.[3] Thus the only account which reports a substantial amount of Job's speeches, the Metrical Paraphrase, is also the one in which he is rebuked for them but not later vindicated.

An interesting parallel to the decision which the author of the Metrical Paraphrase has made occurs in a modern translation of the poetical portion of the Book of Job by W. B. Stevenson. Stevenson believed that the poem which forms the central section of the Book of Job was a complete work on its own to which the prose frame of the folk-tale had been added by someone other than its author. He explains the damage which he considers this yoking to have done to the poet's intention, saying,

> No sentence in the folk-tale has had a more mischievous influence on the interpretation of the poem than the words addressed to Eliphaz by the Almighty, as recorded at the end of the book, in ch. 42, ver. 7:

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[1] Early English Homilies, p. 127.

[2] Metrical Paraphrase, ll. 15049-104.

[3] "The Life of Job", l. 151.

> 'You have not spoken truth regarding me, as my servant Job has done.' When the poem is read without the prejudice injected by this sentence, it is clear that Job's words were generally less in agreement with religious principles than were those of his three companions.[1]

Stevenson is not necessarily speaking of his own religious principles but of the only religious view possible to men who, like Job and his friends, believed that in Sheol after death no difference was made between the good and the wicked, and who therefore must believe either that the good are rewarded in this life or that God is unjust.[2]

The Middle English writers under consideration here would not have Stevenson's advantage of being able to conceive of Job as holding views differing from their own because Job was known to have had a steadfast faith in a life after death and to have prophesied the resurrection of the body.[3] They had of course their own solution to the suffering of the virtuous; God intended them for eternal bliss and was thus purging them of the last shade of sin.[4] However the good did not challenge the justice of God as Job had done in the Book of Job and it seems apparent that, to these writers too, "Job's words were less in agreement with religious principles than were those of his

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[1]Stevenson, pp. 21-22.

[2]Ibid., pp. 26-27.

[3]This matter is discussed more fully on pp. 137-143.

[4]See for example "The Profits of Tribulation", Yorkshire Writers, II, 389-406.

three companions."[1]

Aelfric would in all probability have been able to explain the allegorical meaning of the harsh-seeming words and to have laid bare the secrets behind them, but he could hardly have done so to the uneducated audience he was addressing and certainly not in the short space of a single homily. He therefore shaped his story so that it was self-consistent and advised "læwedan mannen" that what was given was enough though they did not know the "deope digelnysse þær on".[2]

Less learned than Aelfric, the author of the Metrical Paraphrase[3] must have found himself out of sympathy with the literal meaning of the words of Job and in sympathy with some of the arguments of the friends if not with their manner of presenting them. His solution therefore was to omit the sentence with the perplexing if not "mischievous" effect of having Job praised for the very words which had only a moment before drawn on him censure.

The problem did not arise for the author of "The Life of Job" because his tale was of marvels and the frame story served his purpose. It was not necessary for him to compensate for any confusion which might result to his story from the means Job used to teach his friends that

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[1]For the views of mediaeval writers on the relative attractiveness of the words of Job and his friends see pp. 121, 129, 153-157.

[2]Early English Homilies, p. 128.

[3]He may of course be following the lead of a source in which a similar reaction dictated the solution.

their arguments were contrary to God's will[1] because neither the arguments nor the instruction formed part of his tale.

In addition to these extended treatments, the story of Job is often cited in exhorting patient endurance of misfortune. Orm lists Job's troubles as trials enough to have made him sorrowful in heart had he not been well armed as his speech (i, 21) shows him to have been. A like strength will enable Orm's readers to imitate him. So fortified they will not be grieved by earthly unhappiness but will take it blithely, thanking God in their hearts.[2] The bird overheard by the passer-by in "A Tretyse of 'Parce michi, Domine!'" similarly attempts to encourage herself to emulate Job by recalling his misfortunes and his response, "'hygh god in mageste,/I thanke the of thy swete sande" (ll. 222-223).[3] The poem "Thank God of all", having sketched Job's decline in fortune and health, goes on to say that God restored them to him because "he neuer grucched in wele ne wo,/But euer þonked God of al" (ll. 47-48).[4] The Knight of La Tour-Landry too explains to his daughters the nature of patience by telling them Job's story ending by saying,

> And whanne almighti God had so assaied and proued hym, and his gret humilite and pacience, he redressed all,

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[1] "The Life of Job", ll. 150-151.

[2] Ormulum, ll. 4750-835.

[3] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 149.

[4] The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS, II, 689.

> and gaue hym as moche honoure, worship, richesse, and prosperite, as he had before in all manere wise.[1]

The Knight of La Tour-Landry cites the tale of St. Eustace as a New Testament example of the same virtue which Job exemplifies in the Old,[2] and in the South-English Legendary version of St. Eustace's fall from prosperity to misery he is warned that the devil will test him with all woe as he did Job.[3]

Job's conclusion at the end of his search for wisdom that "the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom: and to depart from evil is understanding" (xxviii, 28) is urged by a homilist.[4] His zeal for getting to the bottom of a case brought before him, "the cause which I knew not, I searched out most diligently" (xxix, 16), was doubtless the grounds for a proverb attributed to him,

> 3if þou here eni accusacioun
> Of eni of þy peple in feld or toun,
> Enquere furst þerof þe verite
> Or þou þerfore in herte greue þe.[5]

Job is an oft-cited authority for reminders that man's life is short. The Pricke of Conscience paraphrases x, 20, quoting the holy man as saying, "Now . . . my fon days sere/Sal enden with a short tyme here".[6] The four-

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[1] The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry, p. 103.

[2] Ibid., p. 104.

[3] The Early South-English Legendary, p. 394, l. 42.

[4] Twelfth Century Homilies, p. 95. This chapter is one of the sections now thought not to have been part of the original Book of Job. See above, p. 49.

[5] The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS, II, 531.

[6] The Pricke of Conscience, I, 761-762.

teenth chapter of the Book of Job provides some much-quoted material on this subject. "Man, born of a woman, living for a short time, is filled with many miseries" (xiv, 1) is quoted or paraphrased in a sermon,[1] and in The Pricke of Conscience.[2] "Who cometh forth like a flower, and is destroyed, and fleeth as a shadow, and never continueth in the same state" (xiv, 2) provides the basis for passages found in a homily concerning St. Andrea,[3] in The Pricke of Conscience,[4] and in a metrical sermon.[5] Both these verses contribute to "The Messengers of Death" which reads in part,

> Þe Mon þat is of wommon I-bore,
> His lyf nis heere but a þrowe--
> So seiþ Iob vs heer bi-fore
> Al in a Bok þat I wel knowe.
> He hedde is Muynde al of his deþ
> Wel sore he con grone and grunte,
> And seide his lyf nas bot a Breþ
> Heer mou we none stounde stunte.[6]

Another sermon also quotes St. Job, "mannes dayes ben but shorte" (xiv, 5).[7]

The mortal condition is depicted, perhaps with the aid of the Book of Job, in "Þe Spore of Love" where,

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[1] Middle English Sermons, p. 106.

[2] The Pricke of Conscience, I, 531-537.

[3] Old English Homilies, 2nd ser., p. 175.

[4] The Pricke of Conscience, I, 688-697 and 704-717.

[5] "A Sarmun", Early English Poems and Lives of Saints, p. 5.

[6] The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS, pt. II, 443.

[7] Middle English Sermons, p. 21.

because of their lowly condition, men are urged not to be arrogant. It reads,

> Mon, schuldest þou not so muche rekke
> Of þi-self þen of anoþer,
> ffor Rot is þi ffader, worm þi broþer,
> ffor gendred he is riht of þe same
> As þou.[1]

This seems obviously in debt to the imagery by which Job conveys the depths of his realization of the nature of mortality, "I have said to rottenness: Thou art my father: to worms, My mother and my sister" (xvii, 14).

A passage which, though vivid in itself, seems to have made relatively little impression on Middle English writers is that in which Job curses the day of his birth. Almost always quotation is confined to the opening "Let the day perish wherein I was born, and the night in which it was said: A man-child is conceived" (iii, 3) and some parts of "Why did I not die in the womb? Why did I not perish when I came out of the belly? Why received upon the knees? Why suckled at the breasts?" (iii, 11-12). Generally even this is not used by an unhappy living man but by one who has just received the sentence of damnation, as in "Three Arrows on Doomsday" which reads in part,

> When þe waried heris & wate þat þai are dampnid, & wate þer is na gaynchare ne merci to fynd: þen he sais þe wordes of Iob: "þe dai mote peris i was borne inne & þe night þat i was conceyuid inne! When [whi ne] had i bien dead in mi moders wambe? allas þat sari while þat eauer i was borne! Wharto sette mi moder me on hire kne, & wesch me, & rokkid me, & fed me on hire breste? allas þe while, so mikil trauail

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[1] The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS, I, 270.

> sche lost þat noist me a brande til smore in helle-fire".[1]

"The Adulterous Falmouth Squire" puts a similar expression into the mouth of those in hell (ll. 76-77).[2] It is however the woes of this life that are being considered by a preacher who thinks that a crying child is a prophet of wretchedness and that his weeping can be thought to say,

> "Lord God, why leddest þou me euer forth owte of my modures wombe?" as, "Wold þe, God, I had neuere be sey with þe eye of a man: . . ." "Welavey! why was I resceyved in anny wommans barme? Whi souke I euer anny wommans pappe?"[3]

thus combining the later cry of Job, "Why didst thou bring me forth out of the womb? O that I had been consumed that eye might not see me!" (x, 18) with this matter from the third chapter. The same passage quotes St. Bernard as saying,

> "Homo natus de muliere, et ideo cum reatu--is man borne of a womman?" seþ he; "þan is man synnefull: breui viuens tempore et ideo cum metu--man," seys he, "lyveþ here bot fewe daies, and þer-fore he is euer in drede: repletur multis miseriis et ideo cum fletu--man," seys he, "is full of wrechednes, and þer-fore he hase all-way mater of wepynge."[4]

Without Bernard's addition, the quotation from Job seems to function as it does in the Book of Job, as a description of reaction to the miseries of life. With the quotation from St. Bernard, which also owes a debt to Job

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[1] Yorkshire Writers, I, 120-121.

[2] Political, Religious and Love Poems, p. 95.

[3] Middle English Sermons, p. 271.

[4] Ibid., pp. 271-272. The quotation from Bernard comes from De Consideratione, ii, P.L., CLXXXII, 753.

(xiv, 1), the suggestion that man is the cause of his misery, instead of its victim, is introduced and as a result there is a shift away from the exact impression created by the passage in its original context.

In his Romaunt of the Rose Chaucer gives a rather remote parallel to this verse when he says,

> Acursed may wel be that day
> That povere man conceyved is.[1]

For the sake of rhyme he had made a slight change in his source where a deliberate echo of the scriptural verse may have been intended in,

> L'eure puise estre la maudite
> que povres hom fu conceüz.[2]

By using the expression as part of a description of the miseries of poverty both are speaking in the same vein as Job had been. Chaucer also makes use of a similar expression in The Clerk's Tale which reads,

> Hir [Griselda's] fader, that this tidynge herde anoon,
> Curseth the day and tyme that Nature
> Shoop hym to been a lyves creature.[3]

This seems to be Chaucer's own addition since nothing corresponding with it appears in either the Latin or French sources he used.[4] It is perhaps significant that he did not find the expression which so resembles that of Job suitable for his patient Griselda but gave it to her father.

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[1]Chaucer, The Romaunt of the Rose, ll. 468-469. Quoted from the F. N. Robinson edition.

[2]De Lorris, Le Roman de la Rose, ll. 456-457.

[3]Chaucer, The Clerk's Tale, ll. 901-903.

[4]See Bryan and Dempster, pp. 322-325.

At this point may be mentioned a change made in another of Job's laments for the woes of this world. He has been telling of his miseries and concludes, "My harp is turned to mourning: and my organ into the voice of those that weep" (xxx, 31) which is either a comment on one of the symptoms of his illness, or a description of his melancholy due to the death of his ten children. "The Harper"[1] however employs Job's words as a refrain in his poem in which the joys of youth are quenched by the recollection of approaching death and uncertainty as to his eternal destiny. Therefore once again what was a temporal matter in the Book of Job has been given an eternal significance and has lost its factual value as part of the evidence of a condition for which Job required an accounting from God.

Job's speeches were also exploited for all they contained that might be turned into evidence on a topic of great interest for the mediaeval world, conditions in hell. There is little in the Book of Job which relates to this subject, x, 21-22, vii, 9, xxiv, 19, xxvi, 6, and that little has far different connotations in its original context than are given to it when it reappears in Middle English literature.

The most promising passage is perhaps "a land that is dark and covered with the mist of death: A land of misery and darkness, where the shadow of death, and no

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[1]Ross, "Five Fifteenth-Century 'Emblem' Verses", Speculum, XXXII, 281-282.

order, but everlasting horror dwelleth" (x, 21-22). In a ~~sermon on Matt. xxiv, 43~~ Sawles Warde[1] there is a lively dialogue between Prudence and Dread in which Prudence asks where Dread has come from and receives the answer "hell" and the description that it is width without measure, depth without bottom, and, among other characteristics, darkness, no order and groaning without end. Chaucer's Parson too uses information from this passage in his description of hell,[2] and discusses the implications of each of the features. Job had said that "he that shall go down to hell shall not come up" (vii, 9) and this, in a sermon, was used to explain what happened when prayers were made by the church for those who are damned. Since prayers cannot restore those who have gone down into hell and cannot re-ascend, they return, like the dove to the ark, to the church which originally sent them forth.[3]

The Pricke of Conscience makes use of passages which are easily adapted to apply to hell, though a more temporal situation seems to have been intended in the Book of Job. Thus when Job says that some die in plenty and some without any riches "And yet they shall sleep together in the dust, and worms shall cover them" (xxi, 26) he is

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[1]~~Morris adds this at the end of his edition of Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt, p. 264.~~ Sawles Warde, pp. 10-12

[2]Chaucer, The Parson's Tale, ll. 158-229. (Robinson ed.)

[3]Middle English Sermons, p. 243. See below pp. 326-329 for references in other works to the permanence of the descent into hell. In them although Job is cited the quotation comes from the Office of the Dead.

speaking of the unaccountable prosperity of the wicked and misery of the good and of the still more unaccountable fact that the injustice is not rectified later in life. The Pricke of Conscience however sees in the worms which cover them the infernal worm which dieth not and develops this aspect of the lot of those in hell, saying,

> Þat vermyn on þam salle ay crepe,
> In þam fest þair clokes full depe;
> Þai salle unlapp þam alle oboute,
> And gnaw on ilka lym and souke;
> With vermyn þai salle alle coverd be,
> Swa þat na lym of þam salle be fre,
> And swa þai salle be ay gnawand
> On þair lyms, whether þai lyg or stand.[1]

(The same verse had been used earlier in the poem in its literal sense in order to convey the universal sway of death from which neither emperor, king nor duke could hope to escape.[2]) Another verse intended in a literal sense in the Book of Job, "Let him pass from the snow waters to excessive heat" (xxiv, 19), is used in The Pricke of Conscience to evoke a Miltonic hell when the poet says, "Fra waters of snawes þe synful sal wende/Til þe over mykel hete þat has nan ende."[3] Middle English writers therefore have taken the imagery of the Book of Job which applied either to earthly discomfort or to the state of non-being which Job feared was one's lot after death and have adapted it to express the concepts of a quite different belief regarding the destiny of man after death. In the

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[1]The Pricke of Conscience, VI, 6935-942.

[2]Ibid., I, 872-887.

[3]Ibid., VI, 6661-662.

process, Job was made to issue detailed warnings of a doom of which he had no conception. The omission of reference to much of what Job did say in the discussion accounts in part at least for the prominence with which this aspect of his thought seems to loom over his image in Middle English writings.

A shift in meaning is given to the contest with God which Job envisages when he says, "Indeed I know it is so, and that man cannot be justified compared with God. If he will contend with him, he cannot answer him one for a thousand" (ix, 2-3). This becomes at once more limited and of far different reference when it appears in Mirk's Festial as "And þen schal non scape vndampned; for, as Iop saythe: 'þogh we wold stryve wyth him, we may not vnswar of on good dede for a þousand þat he ȝeuyth vs.'"[1]

Alterations in meaning occur too when texts of Job are used to admonish sinners to abandon their evil courses. These range from fairly trifling to far-reaching. One of the former occurs when the preacher, advising his flock on the evils of acts of penance performed to be seen of men, quotes the Book of Job in support of his warning but quotes it apparently from an incorrect text so that it is not Job's opinion, "no hypocrite shall come before his presence" (xiii, 16), which he gives his reader, but the divine threat, "Therfore sayth Godde almyghty be such ypocrites, . . . ich ypocrite shall not come in the syght

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[1]Mirk's Festial, p. 89.

of me."[1] A little more radical is the change made in the intention of Job's words, "Who will grant me this, that thou mayst protect me in hell, and hide me till thy wrath pass, and appoint me a time when thou wilt remember me?" (xiv, 13), by which Job asks only for a guarantee that sometime, possibly after death, the injustice under which he is presently suffering will be redressed. In The Pricke of Conscience this becomes fear of eternal punishment and the moral drawn becomes,

> Þan es it na wondre, als I sayde are,
> If þe synful men haf drede and care,
> Þat sal dampned be and peryst
> For to cum in þe syght of Ihesu Crist,
> Þat til þam swa wrethful sal seme þan,
> When Job þus says þe halyman.[2]

In the same work Job's complaint at God's implacable attitude toward long past peccadilloes, "thou writest bitter things against me, and wilt consume me for the sins of my youth" (xiii, 26), becomes a warning that all sins great and small are recorded by devils who will "rehearse" them at the day of doom.[3]

Job's words on learning of the death of his children ("Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither. The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away. As it hath pleased the Lord so is it done. Blessed be the name of the Lord", i, 21), and those of his

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[1] Middle English Sermons, p. 295.

[2] The Pricke of Conscience, V, 5103-108.

[3] Ibid., 5488-497. The same passage is quoted with a similar significance later, V, 5721-724.

rebuke to his wife ("If we have received good things at the hand of God, why should we not receive evil?" ii, 10) seem of irreproachable piety, yet even they must sometimes be adjusted slightly to make them completely satisfactory to the purposes of the writer quoting them.

They are used at times it is true with only such alterations as rhyme and metre[1] or paraphrase[2] made necessary. They become too the perfect utterance for the virtuous to quote when stripped of all they possess or hold dear. Thus Sir Isumbras rebukes his servants for their excessive distress over his losses by saying,

> "I wytte 3ow noghte this woghe;
> God that sent me alle this woo,
> Wele hase he sent me also,"[3]

though even he adds unscripturally, "And 3itt may send y-noughe!"[4] They dictate the words in which Chaucer's Griselda conveys her patient acceptance of her situation while making a literal statement of it, "'Naked out of my

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[1] "A dispitison bitwene a good man and þe deuel", The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS, I, 331-332. A rather greater elaboration is given to the text "Naked I came . . . return thither" in The Pricke of Conscience, I, 508-527, where the author seems to have the dual purpose of expressing the miseries of life and of inculcating humility in his reader.

[2] The Chastising of God's Children, p. 112; "The remedy ayenst the troubles of temptacyons", Yorkshire Writers, II, 109; "A tretyse of gostly batayle", Yorkshire Writers, II, 423; Chaucer, The Tale of Melibee, ll. 999-1000.

[3] "The Romance of Sir Isumbras", ll. 95-97.

[4] Ibid., l. 98.

fadres hous,' quod she,/'I cam, and naked moot I turn agayn.'"[1]

At times however even these words are not sufficiently sweeping to suit the purpose of the writer as when in "A dispitison bitwene a god man and þe deuel" the author represents this as Job's entire attitude to his suffering:

> Þo he hedde riht nouȝt: But al was a-go,
> Ne seide he for his harm: Enes 'me is wo,'
> But louede God wel: And þonkede hym þon--
> He dude as þe wyse: So schulde eueri mon;--
> Nolde he not for his los: Noþing sori be,
> 'God,' he seide, 'hit me ȝaf: And bi-raft hit me;'
> Ne grucched he nouȝt, but þonked godes sonde
> And seide 'blesset be his nome, in water & in londe.'[2]

This clearly applies only to the Job of the first two chapters of the scriptural story. Hugh Legat makes a different alteration in the text of his biblical source and one which excludes part of the material of even the first two chapters, for he quotes Job as saying, "ȝef we ha reseyuid good & gladnes of oure Lord, whi schulde we nauth as wel take turment & tene, sen we han deseruid hit?"[3]

This represents an alteration in the hypothesis from which the author of the Book of Job started his discussion of the suffering of the innocent. It was his purpose to show that suffering was not just retribution and for that purpose he had to have a hero of guaranteed impeccability. To the minds of the Christian writers who

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[1]Chaucer, The Clerk's Tale, ll. 871-872.

[2]The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS, I, 344.

[3]Worcester Sermons, p. 9. Italics mine.

were here making use of his work sinlessness was impossible to a human being and so to some extent suffering could always be regarded by the sufferer as expiation for some past sin. For this reason Job's cry of repentance for having spoken foolishly, "Therefore I reprehend myself, and do penance in dust and ashes" (xlii, 6), is applicable, not only to his words during the discussion, if indeed the later writers thought Job had sinned during the discussion, but applied to his whole life as to the life of any man. They were especially useful for penitential seasons, and it is not strange to find the writer of a homily for the first day of Lent reminding his hearers of Job's excellent example in saying, "Ich haue syneged and gabbe me suluen þeroffe and pine me seluen on asshen and on iselen."[1]

Perhaps nothing shows more clearly the strain which Job's acknowledged sanctity imposed on the ingenuity of those who would have thought his words sacrilege if they had not carried the seal of canonical approval, than does the frequency with which the words of his opponents in the discussion are quoted as his. Generally such quotations are not major refutations of the argument Job is putting forth, although they sometimes are. Rather they support a point of view which more often accorded with what these later Christian writers wished to say than did the views of the man they were obliged to regard as a saint.

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[1] Old English Homilies, 2nd ser., p. 65.

Most frequently quoted of such misattributions is the statement of Eliphaz, "Man is born to labour, and the bird to fly" (v, 7). This remark is attributed to Job in The Pricke of Conscience,[1] and Mirk's Festial,[2] and is quoted as from the Book of Job in The Lay Folks' Catechism.[3] It is also quoted by Gower in an attack on sloth but is attributed to Solomon.[4] From the same speech by Eliphaz, The Chastising of God's Children quotes the words "Blessid is þat man þat is vndirnyme or chastised of our lord"[5] (v, 17) and "The Profits of Tribulation" uses what follows when it quotes Job as saying, "he wondyth & he helyth" and explains this, "for he woundeth the body, & helyth the soule"[6] (v, 18). Langland finds himself in sympathy with Eliphaz's warning "fire shall devour their tabernacles, who love to take bribes" (xv, 34) which he quotes in Latin without giving his source and then goes on to comment,

> Among þise lettride lordis þis latyn amountiþ
> Þat fuyr shal falle & forbrenne at þe laste
> Þe hous and þe home of hem þat desiren
> To haue 3eftis or 3eris3iuys in 3ouþe or in elde.[7]

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[1] The Pricke of Conscience, I, 538-543.

[2] Mirk's Festial, p. 66.

[3] The Lay Folks' Catechism, ll. 537-538, p. 94.

[4] Gower, Confessio Amantis, IV, 2340-345.

[5] The Chastising of God's Children, p. 146.

[6] Yorkshire Writers, II, 405.

[7] Langland, Piers Plowman: The A Version, III, 86-89. Quoted from the George Kane edition.

A sermon writer quotes, in Latin, the statement of Eliphaz concerning the wicked man who is proud, "he hath stretched out his hand against God, and hath strengthened himself against the Almighty" (xv, 25), and remarks, "trewly þis doying is wondirfull in þe si3th of a wise man".[1]

Sophar also contributes some of the remarks which are attributed to Job, some of which eke out the rather meagre stock of statements by the patriarch which could be understood to describe the condition of the damned in hell. Job is a witness, says The Pricke of Conscience, that "Þe heved of nedders þat on þam sal fest/. . . þai sal souke þan for threst."[2] He is quoting Sophar's description of the torments, temporal, which await the wicked man although he may seem to prosper for a time, "He shall suck the head of asps." The verse continues, "and the viper's tongue shall kill him" (xx, 16). The same speech by Sophar also provided The Pricke of Conscience with material for elaborating the torment of the damned and again the author cites Job as his authority for the information, "grysely devels salle gang and com/On þe synfulle þat tylle God war unbowsom".[3] Sophar had said, "The terrible ones shall go and come upon him" (xx, 25) and in its context this speech is thought to have alluded to an illness or to wounds received at the hands of a

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[1] Middle English Sermons, p. 263.

[2] The Pricke of Conscience, VI, 6772-773.

[3] Ibid., VII, 8595-596. Chaucer quotes the same passage in The Parson's Tale, l. 190.

mighty foe.[1] Urging that no sins which have not been confessed will remain hidden in the Last Judgment, "Three Arrows on Doomsday" quotes also from this speech by Sophar, arguing, "for hali Iob sais: . . . 'heuen sal schew þe wikednesse of þe synful, & erth sal rise & stand agayn him & bere witnes of his werkis'".[2] In context (xx, 27) it seems much more likely that Sophar was reiterating the accepted theory that wickedness receives its due in temporal misfortune.

One quotation, interesting in this connection, is accurately attributed to Job, "Where-fore Iob seyþ, . . . þe proude man . . . makeþ hym prowde of litill þinge and will in no wise withstonde þe synne of pride."[3] It is followed by the author's comment, "Þer-fore þei shall haue sorowe",[4] which is quite consistent with what Job is saying at this point (xxiv, 24) in the Book of Job. The interesting feature of this quotation however, and one which links it with the frequent attribution of the words of the friends to Job, is that scholars now find this speech so out of character with what Job has been arguing elsewhere that they have concluded that it is really a part of the lost third speech of Sophar.[5] When we add that The Tale

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[1]Cf. Dhorme, pp. 303-304.

[2]Yorkshire Writers, I, 119.

[3]Middle English Sermons, p. 209.

[4]Ibid.

[5]See above, p. 49.

of Melibee is in earnest when it quotes, "in olde men is the sapience, and in longe tyme the prudence",[1] though Job was almost certainly heavily sarcastic when he said it (xii, 12), we can see that the literature of our period finds itself quite frequently in sympathy with the opponents of the holy man.

There are occasions also when Job is simply misquoted and the misquotation carries no implied criticism of the original passage. Chaucer's parson says that Job says, "sinful men doon werkes worthy of Confession."[2] His source, Pennaforte, says that they do things worthy of "confusione", damnation, and, although he too credits Job with this statement, Robinson suggests that the text they have in mind is rather "A diligent woman is a crown to her husband: and she that doth things worthy of confusion is a rottenness in his bones" (Prov. xii, 4).[3] As the quotation occurs in Chaucer however it augments the view of Job as an orthodox Christian which has been built up in the other extracts.

Inaccuracy in translation also contributed to make Job support ideas on which he had expressed no views. A sermon beseeches its hearers,

> And þer-fore, for Goddes love, beþenke þe now or þat þou die what þat þou arte and what þou shalte be aftur þe dredefull Dome, þer ȝe shall apere like as ȝe be in þis world, as Iob, þe holy man, wittenesse well, "Quem

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[1]Chaucer, The Tale of Melibee, l. 1164.

[2]Chaucer, The Parson's Tale, l. 134.

[3]Chaucer, The Works, Robinson ed., p. 767.

> visurus sum ego ipse et non alius--suche as I am now, suche I shall apere before God, and noon oþur.[1]

Occasionally one suspects that an error in the manuscript from which the Middle English author is translating is the source of a variation but here the Latin, though elided, is accurately quoted and the peculiarity is only in the English rendering.

From the same collection of sermons comes an amusing play on words which may have been deliberate or may have been a mistranslation ~~which may have been~~ due to an error in text. Here the author has drawn his quotation from Job's quest for wisdom, during the course of which he says, "The depth saith: It is not in me. And the sea saith: It is not with me" (xxviii, 14). The preacher introduces this into his discussion of the Virgin, of whom he says,

> þis Mary kept no company with synneful men to be drawen down depe, ne God sufferd hur not be flete aboven with patriarches and prophetes; but he kepte hur drie and free from all maner of synne, as it may be shewed in hure þe wordes þat Iob seid, "Abissus dicit, 'Non est in me;' et Maria loquitur, 'Non est mecum'".[2]

The Ayenbite of Inwyt reports that "Iob zayþ þet god is þe uader to þe poure. and ham heþ y-yeue miȝte oþren to iuggi."[3] Job does not say exactly this. What he does say is "I was the father of the poor: and the cause which I knew not, I searched out most diligently" (xxix, 16). In another place in the Ayenbite Job's meaning has been quite misunderstood when it is reported that

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[1] Middle English Sermons, p. 113.

[2] Ibid., p. 328.

[3] Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt, p. 138.

> saynt Iob þet wes zuo moche grat to þe wordle. and holy ine god þet zayde of him-zelue. 'Huet am ich bote esssse. and spearken. and hor. and stench. wermes. wynd. ssed and smech. þet þe wynd berþ and gadereþ draye. þet to naȝt ne is worþ: bote to þe uere.'[1]

This not only extends Job's remark, "I am compared to dirt: and am likened to embers and ashes" (xxx, 19), but it shifts its tone from complaint--that he is now so despised by his neighbours--to a penitential admission that he ought to be.

It is rash to draw conclusions from the absence of evidence and it might be unwise to suggest that Middle English authors were not happy with some of Job's utterances simply because they do not find occasion to quote them. It becomes significant however when these passages do not appear in the extended accounts of the story of Job where their absence presents the patriarch in a rather different light from that in which he appears in the Bible. The passages selected for use show Job as patient, pious, just, conscious of the shortness of life and aware of conditions in hell and of the sinfulness of man. They attribute to him speeches made by Eliphaz, Baldad and Sophar although their views are very different from his own and with one exception they do not modify the impression this creates by quoting his own protestations of innocence or the questioning of divine justice which is

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[1] Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt, p. 137.

implicit in those protestations.[1] The one exception to this silence, the Metrical Paraphrase, ends by rebuking Job and omitting the rebuke to the friends. Thus it would seem that the omission from the other works was due to doubts as to the propriety of some of Job's words. Brief quotations from the Book of Job were dictated naturally by the point the quotation was intended to substantiate. However the choices made, taken together with the way in which the longer accounts present Job's story, suggest that the writers may have been a little uneasy with the patriarch as he is presented in scripture.

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[1]Some passages in which Job puts forward these ideas are Job vi, 2-3; ix, 28-29; and xvi, 18. Middle English literature does use some passages in which Job protests his innocence (e.g. x, 3-7) and such instances are considered in Chapter IX. They do not however affect the point being made here since the meaning is almost invariably changed when the passage is quoted.

CHAPTER IV

EXEGETICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE BOOK OF JOB

The Book of Job was subjected to the exegetical methods commonly applied to the Bible during the early Christian and mediaeval centuries. As is now commonly known students of scripture at that time did not consider that they had laid bare the full meaning of the sacred text when the literal meaning had been expounded. They went on to discover its allegorical significance: typological, tropological and anagogical. The typological meaning showed the lives of the Old Testament patriarchs to be symbolic of the life of Christ and their virtues to be aspects of the total virtue which would be summed up in Christ. The stories also contained moral instruction, the tropological significance, and this too was expressed allegorically rather than literally. The anagogical significance expressed under the veil of allegory a foreshadowing of the Last Judgment and the life of bliss or damnation which was to follow.

This way of looking at scripture was begun, as Beryl Smalley has shown, not by the Christians but by the Jews of Alexandria. Professor Smalley suggests that the process of finding an allegorical meaning is the means by

which a civilized people retain their reverence for a sacred literature handed down to them from primitive times. They exalt what is "trivial and scandalous" by seeing in it a hidden meaning.[1] This practice was carried on sincerely, the exegete believing that a surface unpleasantness from which he instinctively withdrew was a sign to him, placed there by a writer to whom the passage was equally repugnant, that he must exert all his powers to attain the kernel of truth which had been lodged within the rough husk. It had been hidden rather than openly expressed to protect its precious truth from the gaze of the vulgar and also to encourage the scholars to work hard and so share in the merit of making the truth known.

That they believed it vital to the well-being of the church to bring this truth to light can be seen in the explanation which Gregory the Great gives of the detail in the Book of Job that the daughters were invited to the feasts at their brothers' houses (1, 4). They were invited to eat and drink at the banquet and as the daughters symbolized the weaker members of the church this meant that the ignorant were offered not only the plainer parts of scripture--the drink which need not be chewed but might be imbibed as found--but also the more difficult parts--the meat of the scriptures. Thus the brothers as a type of the wise make the more difficult parts of scripture accessible to the spiritually weak. If the wise were not

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[1]Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, p. 4.

willing to seek the inner truth they would be famished and as a result the multitude who understand only the outward history would be dried up with thirst.[1] Thus the whole church would suffer if its more gifted members neglected the task of laying bare the allegorical meanings which the Bible contained.

Because he believed that the whole church had grievous need of the deeper, allegorical interpretation of scripture, Gregory went so far as to use the Septuagint in addition to the Vulgate where the two differed. Both texts were sacred and differences did not cause him to seek to discover which of the two readings was correct. Rather this diversity provided yet more significance for the scholar to reveal. An example is to be found in the words of Eliphaz who in the Vulgate says, "The roaring of the lion, and the voice of the lioness, and the teeth of the whelps of lions are broken. The tiger hath perished for want of prey: and the young lions are scattered abroad" (iv, 10-11). Like the heretics of whom he is a symbol, Eliphaz, Gregory tells us, is in part right and in part wrong. Here he quite correctly sees that "the voice of the lioness" (the loquacity of Job's wife) and "the teeth of the young lions" (the gluttony of his sons which brought them to ruin[2]) have been broken. So far he has

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[1]Gregory, Morals, I, 47-48.

[2]The inconsistency of seeing Job's sons as symbols of the wise in the church and of understanding on the literal level that their death is due to gluttony is not unusual in this type of biblical analysis nor does it trouble the exegetes when they perceive it. See below, pp. 128-129.

been correct but when he speaks of Job he begins to err. By the "roaring of the lion" Job's terribleness is designated. "The tiger" is also Job but by calling him "tiger" Eliphaz "marks out Job with the fault of variedness", since the tiger has a variegated coat. When he says that the tiger has perished for want of prey he is again wrong for he implies that Job is a hypocrite and that his hypocrisy has been seen through so that he now lacks "prey", that is, the praise which he formerly had. Since allegorically the "lion" is both Christ and Satan, and the "lioness" both Holy Church and Babylon, Eliphaz's statement continues to resemble that of the heretics of which he is the symbol in being partly right and partly wrong. To this rich harvest of meanings Gregory adds yet another when he finds that the Septuagint says that it is the "myrmicoleon" (the ant-lion) who has perished for want of prey. This shows that Eliphaz implied that Job was a bully toward the weak and a coward to the lofty and so it is further proof that Eliphaz is wrong when he speaks of Job.[1] Thus Gregory had drawn out of this verse its entire significance without which the ignorant multitude would have perished.

It is only to be expected that the exegetes would have a higher regard for the allegorical meaning than for the literal since they thought that its discovery was the activity of the wisest members of the church. There were

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[1]Gregory, Morals, I, 261 and 270-272.

other reasons for the greater esteem in which the figurative meanings were held. Origen believed that the letter of scripture, its literal meaning, was the flesh while its allegorical meaning was the spirit.[1] To those who accepted St. Paul's edict that "the wisdom of the flesh is death; but the wisdom of the spirit is life and peace" (Romans viii, 6) this metaphor could hardly fail to inculcate a mistrust for the literal meaning as no doubt it was just such mistrust which led Origen to choose it. Augustine did not go quite so far in his attitude to the text of the Bible. He believed that the allegorical meanings were superior to the literal meaning as part of the hierarchical order of the universe[2] but he accepted the historical truth of scripture and thought that the spiritual meanings grew out of it.[3]

Gregory however was so far from allowing the literal meaning to tyrannize over the spiritual that he believed it quite possible that they might be at variance with one another.[4] He suggests in fact that the surface meaning can sometimes be disregarded altogether once it has performed, by its patent unacceptableness, its lower function of directing the scholar to the need for greater

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[1]Origen, Homilia in Leviticum, I, 1. Cited by B. Smalley, footnote 1, p. 1.

[2]Gilson, Introduction à l'étude de St Augustin, p. 27. Quoted in translation by B. Smalley, p. 23.

[3]Smalley, p. 23.

[4]Gregory, Morals, I, 165 and 168.

effort in finding its true significance.[1] It is in this way that he examines the utterance of Job, "If he scourge, let him kill at once, and not laugh at the pains of the innocent" (ix, 23). These words, he says, contain mystery because on the surface they are the utterance of pride. A more perceptive reading however will show that Job is seeking the One Death (Christ's) which will be of the body only and hence will cancel our two deaths. God seems to laugh at the trials of the innocent when he disregards the longing of the elect for the coming of Christ. Gregory also sees a further meaning in these words based on the fact that man is a cause of joy to God if he suffers through a desire for perfection.[2]

Thus exegesis produced interpretations which strayed very far from the text which they were explaining and much later Nicholas de Lyra was to say in the second prologue to his postill,

> It should be noticed that the literal sense is much obscured through the manner of exposition traditionally handed down from others: for, though these men said many good things, nevertheless they have touched little on the literal sense, and have multiplied the mystical senses to such a degree, that the literal sense has been entangled among so many expositions, and partly suffocated.[3]

The literal meaning of parts of the Book of Job was among such casualties and it seems that the impulse to

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[1]Gregory, Morals, I, 7-9.

[2]Ibid., pp. 524-526.

[3]Quoted in translation by Deanesly, The Lollard Bible, p. 167.

seek out allegorical interpretations arose in the case of some portions of the book from a distaste for the literal meaning. Gregory's Moralia and a tract by Dionysius the Carthusian (d. 1475)[1] give evidence of the uneasiness they felt and of the elements of the Book of Job which aroused it.

Job was known to be a good man and confirmation of this, and that his special virtue was patience, was to be found not only in the Book of Job, but also in references to him in other parts of the Bible. In Ezechiel one might read of a land which had sinned so grievously that God had resolved to destroy man and beast in it, and might go on to read, "And if these three men, Noe, Daniel and Job, shall be in it: they shall deliver their own souls by their justice, saith the Lord of hosts" (Ezechiel xiv, 14). Reference to the trials of Job and to his virtue was also made in the Book of Tobias, where, after the blinding of Tobias, it continued, "Now this trial the Lord therefore permitted to happen to him, that an example might be given to posterity of his patience, as also of holy Job" (Tobias ii, 12). The wickedness of the friends was established by the verse a little later, "For as the kings insulted over holy Job, so his relations and kinsmen mocked at his life" (ii, 15).[2] Most of all, Job's chief virtue was established

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[1]Dionysius, "De causis difficultatis intelligendi librum beati Job", V, 73-80.

[2]The rank given here to Job's friends shows the influence of the Septuagint, or of a Hebrew text which resembled the Septuagint. See above, p. 63.

by the familiar words of the Epistle of St. James which said, "You have heard of the patience of Job and you have seen the end of the Lord, that the Lord is merciful and compassionate" (James v, 11).

The friends on the other hand must have been worthy of reproof since God had reproved them. Eliu too was in the wrong since he had not merited the slightest notice when God had appeared to allot praise and blame.

Notwithstanding all this evidence the devout reader was puzzled by the things he found in the book. Dionysius distinguishes three causes of difficulty in understanding the Book of Job. The first was that there seemed to be elements in the speeches of Job which were mutually contradictory. The second was that according to the apparent meaning of the words Job sometimes seemed to speak with too little reverence and caution of God and of His providence, and to speak in a derogatory fashion of divine justice.[1] On such occasions his words were at variance with what was found in other parts of the Bible.[2] The third difficulty was that the friends and Eliu, again according to the surface meaning of their words, seemed to speak much more reverently of God and His justice than Job did, and to be zealous for God.[3]

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[1]Dionysius, V, 73-74.

[2]Ibid., 74.

[3]Ibid., 73.

Dionysius cited some of Job's remarks which seemed insufficiently respectful of divine justice and wisdom, and supported his impression of them by quoting passages from other parts of the Bible which quite contradict Job. Job's opinion that "the innocent and the wicked he consumeth" (ix, 22) was directly opposed to Abraham's conclusion, "Wilt thou destroy the just with the wicked? This is not beseeming thee who judgest all the earth" (Genesis xviii, 23, 25) and "Wilt thou cast off a nation that is innocent and just?" (Genesis xx, 4). He thought that "if he scourge, let him kill at once, and not laugh at the pains of the innocent" (ix, 23) was sadly at variance with the view of divine mercy and equity set forth in the Book of Wisdom, "God made not death: neither hath he pleasure in the destruction of the living" (i, 13), and in the Book of Tobias, "Thou are not delighted in our being lost" (iii, 22).[1] Disrespect for divine justice and disagreement with other parts of the Bible were combined in Job's claim, "At least now, understand that God hath not afflicted me with an equal judgment" (xix, 6). Dionysius thought this could hardly be reconciled with the psalmist's, "I know, O Lord, that thy judgments are equity" (Psalms cxviii, 75, A.V. cxix, 75), or with Daniel's "All thy ways and thy judgments are right" (Daniel iii, 27).[2]

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[1]Dionysius, V, 74.

[2]Ibid.

Dionysius explained the first of these questionable remarks of Job's by saying that the statement that God consumes the innocent and the wicked was to be understood as meaning that even the innocent are afflicted with adversities in this life, until death.[1] Job's prayer that God slay at once rather than laughing at the pains of the innocent gave Dionysius more difficulty. He disposed of the idea of God's laughing at innocent suffering by explaining that what was meant was not enjoyment of their suffering but satisfaction that the suffering, by punishing them, was beneficial to them in many ways.[2] He did not explain why Job should appeal against such a praiseworthy activity of God. Again Job did not mean to claim that God had afflicted him unjustly when he said, "God has not afflicted me with an equal judgment." He meant only to refute the friends' assertion that he was getting no more than he deserved.[3]

Dionysius was concerned at Job's speech, "Thou multipliest thy wrath upon me: why didst thou bring me forth out of the womb? O that I had been consumed that eye might not see me!" (x, 17-18). These words seemed, he thought, to betray impatience and ingratitude, and yet, he pointed out, Job was said to be adorned especially and excellently with patience. A man possessed of such a

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[1]Dionysius, V, 79.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., 79-80.

virtue, he thought, "ought not to be so saddened by the adversities of his life that he regrets having been born."[1] When Job, speaking of God, said, "Let him propose equity against me: and let my judgment come to victory" (xxiii, 7), Dionysius admitted that it sounded as if he "wishes to claim that he is more just than God, and has been stricken unfairly."[2] "Later", Dionysius continued,

> he says to God: I stand up, and thou dost not regard me. Thou art changed to be cruel toward me: and in the hardness of thy hand thou art against me [xxx, 20-22]. That, concerning the most righteous and most kind God, does not seem to sound well.[3]

Dionysius answered his own complaints against Job's words by saying that Job had not claimed greater justice than God but that if human justice could examine his case it would show that he had not been stricken for his sins.[4] His seemingly irreverent expressions Dionysius excused on the grounds that he spoke as the afflicted are accustomed to,[5] that is, sweepingly because of the bitterness of their sorrows. At heart however such men were of good intention and true intelligence and God judged the heart and approved things which sound exceedingly bad to men.[6]

Thus Dionysius's discussion shows the uneasiness he felt with Job who, good man that he was, seemed to

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[1] Dionysius, V, 74.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., 79-80.

[5] Ibid., 79.

[6] Ibid.

speak with insufficient respect of and to God. The words of the friends and even of Eliu, on the contrary, sounded to him almost too well in view of the reproach of God at the end. In all their speeches concerning divine majesty, Dionysius was disturbed to find that they regarded it as something sublime, and that they also proved God just. Eliphaz defended God's justice, Dionysius pointed out, by such speeches as "Shall man be justified in comparison of God: or shall a man be more pure than his maker? Behold, God found wickedness in his angels: How much more shall they that dwell in houses of clay be consumed as with the moth?" (iv, 17-19). Baldad's speech, "How long wilt thou speak these things: doth God pervert Judgment or doth the Almighty overthrow that which is just?" (viii, 2-3), also troubled Dionysius because it expressed a high regard for the justice of God, which he sometimes found lacking in the words of Job.[1]

Dionysius's problem was therefore to discover what it was in the words of the friends which had deserved rebuke and he decided that Baldad's speech, "God will not cast away the simple" (xiii, 20), though ostensibly expressing a proper sentiment regarding God, was in reality an attack on the integrity of Job. He also saw that Sophar's words, "And I wish that God would speak to thee, That he might shew thee the secrets of wisdom, and thou mightest understand that God exacteth much less of thee

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[1]Dionysius, V, 75.

than thy iniquity deserveth" (xi, 5-6), contained an unwarranted accusation against Job which made God's rebuke comprehensible even though in the words which followed Sophar became the eloquent champion of God.[1]

It is along these lines that Dionysius saw that the verdict of God was to be understood. He went on to say,

> after these three, Eliu attacked blessed Job, and inveighed against him more sharply than the others: and according to the exegetes, he charged Job more effectively than the aforementioned. He erred less, also concerning the providence of God. But he was rebuked, because he spoke too pompously.[2]

Dionysius went on to cite examples of Eliu's self-importance and to decide that the justice of the verdict, in Eliu's case of being totally ignored, had been vindicated.

Dionysius's examination of the difficulties contained in the Book of Job has been considered at this point rather than later as his place in the history of exegesis might have suggested because of the explicitness with which he states the objections that might have been lodged against the book had it not formed a part of the canon of scripture. Signs of a similar uneasiness with the text are to be found much earlier and Gregory who wrote his influential Moralia in Job at the end of the sixth century shows that sometimes it is an unhappiness

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[1]Dionysius, V, 75.

[2]Ibid.

with the literal meaning of the text which spurs him to seek an allegorical significance.

In his preface Gregory reminds those who are offended by "certain words of his [Job's] rejoinders" that God Himself is the witness to the excellence of Job's character.[1] He warns against deciding, in the light of some of these rejoinders, that Job was good before his affliction but broke down under it because he is "the intermediate subject of the contest between God and the devil" and to suggest that he failed in his trials is to suggest that Satan has been right in his claim that Job serves God for advantage, and has therefore triumphed over God in bringing about the failure of Job.[2]

The problems which Gregory lists are a curious amalgam of the serious and the trivial. There was for example reference by Job himself to the "vain fiction that the world is supported by giants".[3] This he found in "God, whose wrath no man can resist, and under whom they stoop that bear up the world" (ix, 13). Next he was puzzled by Job's intention in cursing the day of his birth and the night of his conceiving. Since these times were passed, they could hardly suffer from his curse.[4] Specifically the imprecation, "Let that night be solitary, and

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[1]Gregory, Morals, I, 20.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., p. 7.

[4]Ibid., p. 8.

not worthy of praise" (iii, 7), seemed to him futile, since, as that night had gone by and was united with other nights, it could hardly now be solitary.[1] He did not object to Job's complaints, "The things which before my soul would not touch, now through anguish are my meats" (vi, 7) and "How long wilt thou not spare me, nor suffer me to swallow down my spittle?" (vii, 19), because they were complaints and so marred the perfection of Job's patience, but because they were mutually contradictory since, if he could swallow even detestable food, he could surely swallow spittle.[2] Admissions like, "I have sinned. What shall I do to thee, O keeper of men?" (vii, 20) and "For thou writest bitter things against me, and wilt consume me for the sins of my youth" (xiii, 26) were objected to because they could not be made to square with his assurance that "my heart doth not reprehend me in all my life" (xxvii, 6).[3] The passage, "So that my soul rather chooseth hanging: and my bones death" (vii, 15) prompted him to object that no one in his right mind could believe that so good a man as Job would have desired to strangle himself.[4] It was not because Gregory could not perceive these contradictions that he continued to assert Job's virtue. Instead he explained that it was the function of

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[1]Gregory, Morals, I, 8.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid., pp. 7-8.

these contradictions to suggest, "Whereas ye see our superficial form to be destructive to us, look for what may be found within that is in place and consistent with itself."[1]

The need to interpret the words of the patriarch so that they were never reprehensible was made explicit when, confronted by Job's appeal, "O that my sins, whereby I have deserved wrath, and the calamity that I suffer, were weighed in a balance. As the sand of the sea this would appear heavier" (vi, 2-3), Gregory admitted that Job's words seemed to go beyond patience here,[2] but advised that the reader

> must keep the vessel of his soul held fast at the prow by reflection on God's first approval of him and at the stern by the end sentence. So we are not overwhelmed by any storms arising from our ignorance, if we hold to the tranquil shore of the sentence of the Most High.[3]

The "end sentence" refers of course to God's admonition to the friends, "you have not spoken the thing that is right before me, as my servant Job hath" (xlii, 7). Pursuing the course indicated by the discrepancy between the surface meaning of Job's words and the sentiments which might be expected of a patient man, Gregory perceived that by "balance" Job referred to Christ, the mediator between God and man. Man was formed, he explained, for God and, when banished from the internal joy of communication with God

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[1]Gregory, Morals, I, 9.

[2]Ibid., p. 364.

[3]Ibid., p. 365.

by his disobedience, he did not recognize this as punishment, but imagined this exile to be his home. Christ's coming would restore man to the interior life he had known before, but at the same time to sorrow, for, knowing the light, he would realize his darkness. Thus correctly interpreted this passage meant that Christ would come and show us the exiled and grievous condition we endured, "sand of the sea, tossed by waters, so man transgressing was carried out of himself from within". Ironically therefore man's punishment would appear hard to him at the very moment when sin was lightened by God's mercy.[1]

In general exegetes tended to focus their attention on individual verses unrelated to the book as a whole. Subjected to the exegetical method, these yielded a variety of significances and the book came to be accepted as an accumulation of these significances. Middle English authors did not follow all the convolutions of the various expositions which resulted but they did understand the book as it was interpreted by the exegetes. Consequently some of the variations on the Job theme which are to be found in Middle English are due not to the book itself but to the interpretation of it by the Church Fathers or the Schoolmen. It is as a result of their accumulated efforts that Job functions in literature as a man of surpassing virtue, as a prophet and as a type of Christ; that his wife and his friends are depicted as they are and that

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[1]Gregory, Morals, I, 365-366.

some isolated verses from the book are given a meaning which would not immediately occur to the modern reader.

The quality of Job's virtue was elaborated in the works of many biblical scholars. Augustine said that it would not be easy to find a weightier testimony in scripture than that given by Ezekiel to Noah, Daniel and Job (Ezekiel xiv, 14) and he believed that Job was listed here as an example of righteousness in wedlock.[1] Chrysostom pointed out that Adam did not suffer the loss of children and wealth or sit upon a dunghill but lived in paradise without labour or pain or the cares, reproaches and insults which assailed Job, yet Adam fell while Job nobly endured through the steadfastness of his vigilant soul.[2] This contrast was developed by Augustine who added that Job was wealthy on his dunghill because he still had God Himself, who gave all.[3] Ambrose, pointing out the need for fortitude in withstanding vice, asked,

> What of all this [fortitude] was wanting in holy Job, or in his virtue, or what came upon him in the way of vice? How did he bear the distress of sickness or cold or hunger? How did he look upon the dangers which menaced his safety? Were the riches from which so much went to the poor gathered together by plunder? Did he ever allow greed for wealth, or the desire for pleasures, or lusts to rise in his heart? Did ever the unkind disputes of the three princes, or the insults of the slaves, rouse him to anger? Did glory carry him away like some fickle person when he called down vengeance on himself if ever he had hidden even an involuntary fault, or had feared the multitude of the the people so as not to confess it in the sight of

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[1]Augustine, Nicene Fathers, 1st ser., V, 49.

[2]Chrysostom, Nicene Fathers, 1st ser., IX, 195.

[3]Augustine, P.L., XXXVII, 1207.

> all? His virtues had no point of contact with any vices, but stood firm on their own ground. Who, then, was so brave as holy Job? How can he be put second to any, on whose level hardly one like himself can be placed?[1]

Using as he did a Septuagint, or an Old-Latin Bible, Ambrose could substantiate this attitude by saying, "Nor have we cause to doubt the fortitude of him to whom the Lord said: 'Gird up thy loins like a man. Put on loftiness and power. Humble everyone that doeth wrong.'"[2] The Vulgate text which Jerome was shortly to prepare would not have yielded the same conclusion, since it reads, "Gird up thy loins like a man. I will ask thee, and do thou tell me. Wilt thou make void my judgment? And condemn me, that thou mayst be justified?" (xl, 2-3).

Above all virtues, Job excelled in patience, and there are tributes to his perfection in this virtue in the writings of many of the Church Fathers and biblical scholars. His victory over Satan by exercise of patience was celebrated by Tertullian (d. c. 230) when he said,

> O most happy also was he who struck out all manner of patience against all the force of the devil, whom not flocks or those riches in cattle driven off, not children snatched away in one destruction, not finally the torture of the body itself by ulcer, separated from patience and the faith due to God, whom in vain the devil struck with all his might! For he was not drawn away from respect for God by so many griefs; but he set himself before us as an example and witness that patience should be achieved not so much by the spirit as by the flesh, not so much by the soul as by the body; with the result that we do not sink by the destruction of our worldly goods, nor by the loss of

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[1]Ambrose, Nicene Fathers, 2nd ser., X, 33.

[2]Ibid., 30.

> all we hold most dear, nor even by the torments of the body.[1]

Cyprian (d. 258) saw him suddenly bereft by the devil of possessions and children, tormented by illness and tempted by his wife at the instigation of the devil who from the beginning of the world had used women to overthrow men. Still in the midst of all this the blessing of God was made known through his triumphant patience.[2] A slight variation in the text of the Bible he used substantiated this praise from the mouth of God, whom he cited as saying "for there is none like him in all the earth, a man without complaint [Septuagint, 'blameless'], a true worshipper of God" (i, 8).[3]

Augustine detected an almost mystical quality in Job's patience, interpreting his words, "The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away. As it hath pleased the Lord so is it done. Blessed be the name of the Lord" (i, 21), as meaning,

> He hath taken what He gave, is He lost Who gave? He hath taken what He gave. As if he should say, He that taketh away all, let Him take all, send me away naked, and let me keep Him. What shall I lack if I have God? or what is the good of all else to me, if I have not God?[4]

Elsewhere he said in a similar vein, "On every side vexed by temptations, and yet on every side unconquered through

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[1]Tertullian, P.L., I, 1270.

[2]Cyprian, P.L., IV, 633-634.

[3]Cyprian, Ante-Nicene Fathers, V, 471.

[4]Augustine, Nicene Fathers, 1st ser., III, 372-373.

the unmoved strength of patience and the arms of piety."[1] Indeed in the excellence of his response to suffering Job became, Augustine said, a ductile trumpet, becoming a better instrument for the praise of God under the hammering of tribulation.[2]

In a letter to Gregory, Basil praised Job because he not only sustained the death of his children with equanimity but "was not even stirred to anger against the friends who came to comfort him, and trampled on him, and aggravated his troubles."[3] Bruno of Asti interpreted Job's desire that his words might be written down (xix, 23-24) as reflecting his wish that the generations to come after him might receive from them an example of patience.[4]

Song too celebrated his principal virtue. Milo told in "De Sobriate" how "Job pius et patiens falsis contendit amicis" (l. 488).[5] Wandalbertus's "Martyrologium" listed Job as "patiendi exemplo" (l. 267)[6] and Walafrid Strabo, sketching the characters of many Old Testament figures in "Versus de Vita et Fine Mammae Monachi", specified, "patientia fertilis Job" (l. 16).[7] In the Psycho-

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[1]Augustine, P.L., XL, 615.

[2]Augustine, Nicene Fathers, 1st ser., VIII, 481.

[3]Basil, Nicene Fathers, 2nd ser., VIII, 111.

[4]Bruno of Asti, Expositio, P.L., CXCVI, 618.

[5]Milo of Saint Amand, "Carmina", M.G.H., Poetae, III, Pt. II, 630.

[6]Wandalbertus, "Carmina", M.G.H., Poetae, II, 585.

[7]Walafrid Strabo, "Carmina", M.G.H., Poetae, II, 295.

machia, Patience, exulting over her fallen enemy, was escorted by Job (11. 163-171).[1]

Augustine warned those who might think that Job was just before his temptation but lapsed into sacreligious blasphemy under it to look at what happened after all the talking of both Job and the friends who came to offer him their consolation, and they would see that the Lord gave testimony that they had not spoken the truth as His servant Job had.[2]

Patience was not however Job's only virtue. Cyprian praised his proper concern for the spiritual welfare of his children, illustrated in the sacrifices which he made to deliver them from the guilt of a possible sin against God uttered in the heart (i, 5).[3] He also praised the kindness he exhibited in his aid to the blind, the lame, and the fatherless (xxix, 12, 13, 51, 16).[4] These virtues Job had set forth himself as he examined the life he had led to see if there was anything in it which merited the terrible punishment he was undergoing. Lest it should seem that Job marred his virtues by boasting of them Gregory explained that he considered his previous good works only to save himself from despair, surrounded as he was by misery and the reproaches of his friends.[5]

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[1]Prudentius, Psychomachia, P.L., LX, 36.

[2]Augustine, P.L., XXXVII, 1384.

[3]Cyprian, Ante-Nicene Fathers, V, 481.

[4]Ibid., 531.

[5]Gregory, Morals, I, 21.

The virtue of having the correctly slight esteem for misfortune and for worldly goods was also Job's according to Origen[1] and Augustine.[2] He was a model parent, promoting peace among his children,[3] and a model of penitence since he laid up in his memory a dunghill of all his sins and perseveringly meditated on them, weeping.[4] Peter Cantor praised Job as the defender of the poor in legal matters, finding evidence of this virtue in Job's statement, "the cause which I knew not, I searched out most diligently. I broke the jaws of the wicked man: and out of his teeth I took away the prey" (xxix, 16-17).[5]

His virtues in fact raised him almost to faultlessness, for Clement of Alexandria saw in his submissive words "naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither" (i, 21) not only the literal meaning of being stripped of possessions, which indeed he dismissed as the common lot of all men, but also the figurative meaning that he would depart "naked of evil and sin, and of the unsightly shape which follows those who have led bad lives."[6]

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[1]Origen, Ante-Nicene Fathers, IV, 334.

[2]Augustine, Nicene Fathers, 1st ser., IV, 53.

[3]L'Hystore Job, ll. 473-492 and 550-600.

[4]Hugh of St. Victor, P.L., CLXXV, 12.

[5]Peter Cantor, P.L., CCV, 162.

[6]Clement of Alexandria, Ante-Nicene Fathers, II, 439. Augustine did not share the view that Job was faultless, and he cited the numerous times in the Book of Job that Job admits to being sinful (ix, 2-3, 19-20, 30; xiii, 26-xiv, 5; xiv, 16-17). His point was to show that even the righteous Job was not sinless. (Nicene Fathers, 1st ser., V, 49-50.)

The hero of the Book of Job was not however only a man of perfect patience, a good father, diligent in works of charity, a perfect penitent who would depart from the world free from all taint of sin. He was also a prophet who, the exegetes believed, foretold the coming of the Redeemer, and the details of His life, and enunciated the doctrine of the resurrection.

The view that Job had enunciated what the church was later to teach concerning the resurrection of the body was established very early in the Christian era. It must have seemed a logical conclusion to draw from that passage for which the Septuagint gives,

> For I know that he is eternal who is about to deliver me, and to raise up upon the earth my skin that endures these sufferings: for these things have been accomplished to me of the Lord; which I am conscious of in myself, which mine eye has seen, and not another, but all have been fulfilled to me in my bosom. (xix, 25-27)

Clement included this among the passages of the Old Testament which testified that "the Maker of all things [is] to raise up again those that have piously served Him in the assurance of a good faith"[1] in his letter to the Corinthians written before the end of the first century A.D. Origen popularized this interpretation when he quoted the passage as scriptural evidence of the resurrection, thus showing that the Sadducees ought not to have disputed the resurrection as they had in the New Testament.[2]

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[1]Clement, Ante-Nicene Fathers, I, 12.

[2]Origen, P.G., XIII, 1566.

Jerome translated this passage as

> For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and in the last day I shall rise out of the earth. And I shall be clothed again with my skin: and in my flesh I shall see my God. Whom I myself shall see, and my eyes shall behold; and not another. This my hope is laid up in my bosom.
>
> (xix, 25-27)

Rendered thus it seems to give an even stronger affirmation of the tenet that the body will be raised again after death and Jerome interpreted it as showing that Job prophesied in the spirit the future resurrection when he would receive the reward of his misfortunes.[1]

Augustine analyzed "and in my flesh I shall see God", showing that this meant that Job would be in his flesh when he saw God, and not that God would be visible because He has assumed flesh like Job.[2] For Jerome these words provided material for proof of his interpretation of the nature of the resurrection of the body, that it would be a tangible, physical entity, and not as Origen had believed that it would be "an aerial body, like to breath and wind".[3] Gregory too seized on these words as proof that the flesh would rise again and not an ethereal body, the flesh of the resurrection being palpable though incorruptible.[4] Robert Pullus believed that Job had meant that the body would be identical after the resurrection with

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[1]Jerome, P.L., XXVI, 667.

[2]Augustine, Nicene Fathers, 1st ser., II, 508.

[3]Jerome, P.L., XXIII, 382.

[4]Gregory, Morals, II, 163-169.

the body which lived before, the members not transposed or confused, performing the same office which they do in life, since the eyes were to behold then as they do *now*.[1]

This conviction that Job had accepted the doctrine of the resurrection might have been shaken by another statement of Job's,

> For there is hope for a tree, even if it should be cut down, that it shall blossom again, and its branch shall not fail. For though its root should grow old in the earth, and its stem die in the rock; it will blossom from the scent of water, and will produce a crop, as one newly planted. But a man that has died is utterly gone; and when a mortal has fallen, he is no more. . . . For if a man should die, shall he live again, having accomplished the days of his life?
> (Septuagint, xiv, 7-10 and 14)

It may have been this passage which caused John Chrysostom to assume that Job did not know the dogma of the resurrection and to count it as one of Job's chief afflictions that he knew that he did not deserve the suffering which he was undergoing, yet could not look to a future life to redress the balance.[2]

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[1]Robert Pullus, P.L., CLXXXVI, 983-984.

[2]Chrysostom, P.G., LII, 565. Chrysostom's view of the opinion of Job on this point is not clear. A fragment of the Catena Graecorum Patrum in beatum Job of Nicetas, attributed to him, reads, "He was not ignorant therefore of the resurrection, not even, in my opinion, of the resurrection of the body, unless he intends to say that liberation from the hardships by which he is oppressed, is resurrection" (P.G., LXIV, 622). In his interpretation of xix, 25-27 he says, "God is immortal, whose offspring we are; truly after he has dissolved me into the earth through death, he will again raise me up from the earth through the resurrection, or after having dissolved in death, that is set free, he will renew again my skin; for it is he who made the distress who will restore again to health, he who has slain who will bring to life" (P.G., LXIV, 622). The ascription to him of the Catena may however be incorrect.

Cyril of Jerusalem (315-386) however had no difficulty in seeing in this passage an affirmation of the resurrection since his version differed slightly saying, ". . . But man when he dies, is gone; and when mortal man falls, is he no more?" Fortified with this difference, Cyril explained,

> As it were remonstrating and reproving (for thus ought we to read the words "is no more" with an interrogation), he says since a tree falls and revives, shall not man, for whom all trees were made, himself revive? And that thou mayest not suppose that I am forcing the words, read what follows; for after saying by way of question, When mortal man falls, is he no more? he says, For if a man die, he shall live again; and immediately he adds, I will wait till I be made again. All the days of my appointed time will I wait, till my change come, and again elsewhere, Who shall raise up on the earth my skin, which endures these things.[1]

Rufinus (c. 340-410) found in the same passage evidence that "Job, who abounds in mystical language, plainly predicts the resurrection of the dead".[2] Like Cyril he read it as, "But man, if he be dead, is he departed and gone? And mortal man, if he have fallen, shall he be no more?" Like Cyril too he continued,

> Dost thou not see, that in these words he is appealing to men's sense of shame, as it were, saying, "Is mankind so foolish that when they see the stock of a tree which has been cut down shooting forth again from the ground, and dead wood again restored to life, they imagine their own case to have no likeness to that of wood or trees?" But to convince you that Job's words are to be read as a question, when he says, "But mortal man when he hath fallen shall he not rise again?" take this proof from what follows, for he adds immediately, "But if a man be dead, shall he live?" And presently afterwards he repeats the same: "Who shall

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[1]Cyril of Jerusalem, Nicene Fathers, 2nd ser., VII, 137-138.

[2]Rufinus, Nicene Fathers, 2nd ser., III, 561.

> raise again upon the earth my skin, which is now draining this cup of suffering?" Does he not plainly say that there will be a resurrection of this flesh, this, I mean, which is now undergoing the extremity of trials and tribulations?[1]

Gregory had no doubt that Job had believed in the resurrection, but he too thought that the query, "Thinkest thou that a dead man shall live again?" required a careful explanation. This he provided when he said,

> It is common with righteous men, in that which they themselves feel to be sure and well-grounded, to urge something as if in doubting, so as to put the words of the weak into their own lips; and again by a strong sentence they gainsay utterly him that halts in doubtfulness, that by that which they are seen to put forth doubtfully, they may in some degree condescend to the weak, and hereby, that they deliver a sure sentence, they may draw the doubtful minds of the weak to firm ground. . . . The words of weakness are sometimes proper to be adopted by the strong that by their strong preachings afterwards the hearts of the weak may be more acceptably strengthened.[2]

The "strong preaching" was, for Gregory, contained in the next verse, "Thou shalt call me, and I will answer thee: to the work of thy hands thou shalt reach out thy right hand" (xiv, 15). Verse 10, which Gregory read, "But when man is dead, and stripped, and consumed, where I pray, is he?", was developed by him away from a discussion of the afterlife and, focussing on "stripping", the explanation dealt with the regaining of the robe of innocence which man had in Paradise.[3] Gregory admitted that the statement, "So man lieth down and riseth not" (xiv, 12), was

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[1]Rufinus, Nicene Fathers, 2nd ser., III, 561.

[2]Gregory, Morals, II, 55-56.

[3]Ibid., 51.

hard, both to understand and, if true, to justify as fair to man, but he found its solution in the words "till the heavens be no more" which follow and which prompted him to say,

> For it is plain that they shall not rise again, that is, till the heavens be no more, in that except the end of the world come, the race of mankind shall not wake to life from the sleep of death. Not, then, that he shall not rise again at all, but that before the crumbling of the heavens the human race shall not rise again, is what he teaches.[1]

Gregory tackled verse 20 of this chapter, "Thou hast strengthened him for a little space, that he might pass by forever" and explained that it meant that man was strengthened in this world in such a way that "he extracts that wherefrom in the everlasting world he may either find how always to have joy, or not ever escape the punishments he has entered upon."[2] The second half of the verse he interpreted,

> 'The face of man is changed,' when his form is wasted by death; but 'he is sent away,' in that from those things which he kept willingly he is necessitated to pass away to the eternal world against his will, and while he is brought thereunto, these things which he held long and thought on, how it will be with them now left behind he knows nothing.[3]

Ambrose, a contemporary of Rufinus, grounded his assurance that Job had believed in the resurrection on that

> . . . passage in which holy Job, after experiencing the miseries of this life, and overcoming all adver-

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[1]Gregory, Morals, II, 52.

[2]Ibid., 62.

[3]Ibid.

> sity by his virtuous patience, promised himself a recompense for present evils in the resurrection, saying, "Thou shalt raise up this body of mine which has suffered many evils."[1]

He also found support for it however in Job's cursing the day of his birth (iii, 3-5). Concerning this he said,

> Job had recognized that to be born is the beginning of all woes, and therefore wished that the day on which he was born might perish, so that the origin of all troubles might be removed, and wished that the day of his birth might perish that he might receive the day of resurrection.[2]

Thus there seemed to the Church Fathers ample evidence that Job had been possessed of prophetic insight into the life after death and into the nature of the body which would share in the resurrection by which man was to enter that life. He had foreknowledge of other matters also, particularly of the coming of Christ, of His function in man's salvation and of many of the details of His life. Evidence of this foreknowledge was to be found not only in the passage in which Job spoke of the "Redeemer" but also in other passages which were seen to relate allegorically the incidents of Christ's life.

Origen spoke of the coming of Christ "who, according to Job, has subdued the great fish."[3] "The great fish" was apparently leviathan, a type of Satan, and Origen saw a prophecy of Christ's victory over Satan in the verse, "Canst thou draw out the leviathan with a hook?

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[1]Ambrose, Nicene Fathers, 2nd ser., X, 184.

[2]Ibid., 178.

[3]Origen, Ante-Nicene Fathers, IV, 353.

Or canst thou tie his tongue with a cord" (xl, 20)?[1] Ambrose was therefore only continuing a long accepted interpretation when he said,

> For holy Job prophesied of the coming of the Lord; of Whom he said in truth that He would vanquish the great Leviathan and it was done. For that dread Leviathan, that is the devil, He smote, and struck down, and laid low in the last times by the adorable Passion of His own Body.[2]

Cyril of Jerusalem saw the condition which made Christ's incarnation necessary in God's words, "If there should be a flood, he [the wild beast, behemoth] will not perceive it; he trusts that Jordan will rush up into his mouth" (Septuagint, xl, 18). This Cyril related to other parts of the Bible as he said,

> According to Job, there was in the waters the dragon that draweth up Jordan into his mouth. Since, therefore, it was necessary to break the heads of the dragon in pieces (Ps. lxxxiv, 14), He went down and bound the strong one in the waters, that we might receive power to tread upon serpents and scorpions (Luke x, 19).[3]

Cyril credited Job with perceiving the identity of the creator and redeemer, seeing evidence of this knowledge in Job's words, "Who alone has stretched out the heavens, and walks on the sea as on firm ground" (Septuagint, ix, 8). This, he said, referred to Christ rather than to God as it

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[1]The words to which Origen referred here were spoken by God. Possibly because the Church Fathers regarded Job as the author of the Book of Job as well as its hero they frequently attributed to Job the insights which they found in the words of other speakers in the Book of Job.

[2]Ambrose, Nicene Fathers, 2nd ser., X, 283.

[3]Cyril of Jerusalem, Nicene Fathers, 2nd ser., VII, 17.

signified "to those who understand that He who when present here walked upon the sea is also He who aforetime made the heavens".[1]

Jerome marvelled at the strength of Job's prophetic vision as revealed in the verse, "For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and in the last day I shall rise out of the earth" (xix, 25). Not only did Job hope for resurrection, said Jerome, "rather he knew and saw that Christ, his Redeemer, was alive, and at the last day would rise again from the earth. The Lord had not yet died, and the athlete of the Church saw his Redeemer rising from the grave."[2] Odo of Cluny also credited Job with prophetic knowledge of the incarnation and explained that because he does not say "creator" but "redeemer" "He announces openly Him who, that He might redeem us from captivity, appeared among us incarnate, and by His passion delivered us from eternal death."[3] Augustine too believed that Job had foretold the coming of a Saviour,[4] and Methodius saw in the passage in which Job speaks of God's walking on the sea (ix, 8) a tribute to Christ since he said, "Jesus alone walked on the deep where there are no traces of walkers, as a free man. For He chose death, to which He

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[1]Cyril of Jerusalem, Nicene Fathers, 2nd ser., VII, 70.

[2]Jerome, Nicene Fathers, 2nd ser., VI, 439.

[3]Odo of Cluny, P.L., CXXXIII, 270.

[4]Augustine, Nicene Fathers, 1st ser., V, 146.

was not subject, that He might deliver those who were the bondslaves of death."[1]

Job was seen however as more than a prophet of Christ. By his unmerited sufferings and the patience with which he bore them, he seemed a type of Christ and of His Passion. All the elect, said Gregory, are forerunners of Christ, but

> it behoved that blessed Job also, who uttered those high mysteries of His incarnation, should by his life be a sign of Him, Whom by voice he proclaimed, and by all that he underwent should shew forth what were to be His sufferings; and should so much the more truly foretell the mysteries of His Passion, as he prophesied them not merely with his lips but also by his sufferings.[2]

Typology in fact saw Job as a symbol both of Christ and of Holy Church.

That Job was a type of Christ, as were most of the Old Testament heroes, was accepted early. Zeno saw thirteen ways in which Job resembled Christ. He was said by God to be just, and Christ, Zeno pointed out, is the fountain whence the blessed taste justice. He was called true, and Christ said, "I am the way, the truth". Job was rich, and in this like Christ who was most rich, possessing everything in the world and in nature. Like Christ, Job was tempted three times by Satan, by loss of possessions and children, by loss of health, and by the instigations of his wife. Job lost everything he had, and Christ "laid aside his good heaven for our love, and made himself

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[1]Methodius, Ante-Nicene Fathers, VI, 547.

[2]Gregory, Morals, I, 26.

poor that he might make us rich." Job's sons were buried by the fury of Satan, and the prophets, Christ's children, were killed by "a mad Phariseic people". Job was stained by ulcers, and Christ, in assuming flesh, was soiled by all the sins of the human race. Job was exhorted to sin by his wife and Christ was urged by the Synagogue to follow the corrupt elders. Job was insulted by his friends as Christ was by priests and parish. Job sat on a dunghill full of worms as Christ in this filthy world was among many wretches and lascivious men--truly worms. Job received his health again and Christ rose to immortality to go before believers and recover dominion over all nature. Job had many sons, and Christ had first the prophets, then the Apostles, his spiritual sons. Job died in peace, and the Lord remains forever blessed.[1]

Jerome, too, had seen that,

> In many ways, Job also figures forth the passion of Our Lord and his patience, by the number of his sons and the names of his daughters he presages the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Spirit, the Law, the Prophets and the Gospels in the fullness of our salvation which was to come.[2]

In almost every detail of the Book of Job, Gregory saw a typological interpretation. His name 'Job' signified 'mourner' and the name of the land in which he lived 'Uz' meant 'a councillor'. "So," continued Gregory, "Job is an inhabitant of the land of Uz, because Wisdom, Which underwent the pain of the Passion in our behalf, has made

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[1]Zeno, Liber II, Tract XV, 441-443.

[2]Jerome, Commentarii, P.L., XXVI, 801-802.

an habitation for Herself in those hearts, which are instinct with the counsels of life."[1] When Job said, "These things have I suffered without iniquity of my hand, when I offered pure prayers to God" (xvi, 18), he spoke, Gregory said, for Christ Who suffered without wickedness and prayed for His tormenters.[2]

Gregory saw a Christ-like humility in Job's resolve to do penance, though innocent,[3] and also in the fact that he chose to sit on a dunghill in his misery. Gregory's allegorical interpretation of this said, "When Job was smitten he did not seek a mountain, but sat down upon a dunghill, in that when our Redeemer came to His Passion, He left the high minds of the proud, and rested in the lowliness of the heavy laden."[4] Hugh of St. Victor saw a similar pre-figuring of Christ in the fact that Job scraped the corrupt matter from his ulcer-stricken body. Concerning this he said,

> Job scraped away the corrupt matter, sitting on a dunghill, that is, the just man, grieving (for thus "Job" is interpreted) for his sins, wipes out by the harshness of penitence the double defilement of sin, that is, of thoughts and deeds. Or again, Job became Christ grieving for us who having put on his flesh from the clay of our substance destroyed our sin that is corruption. Job sat, not on a mountain, but on a dunghill, because, leaving the proud, truly repenting he did penance with humility, who perceived his evil deeds by bewailing them, and recognized how wholly sin's defilement pollutes when he withdrew from them,

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[1]Gregory, Morals, I, 39.

[2]Ibid., II, 101.

[3]Ibid., III, Pt. 2, 665-666.

[4]Ibid., I, 154.

for he did not perceive their stench until he withdrew from them.[1]

Job was seen as a type of Christ in other ways than in his willing association with distasteful things and people. Gregory saw in "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away: as it hath pleased the Lord, so is it come to pass; blessed be the name of the Lord" (i, 21) the following significance:

> Our Redeemer, in that He is God, gives all things with the Father; but in that He is Man, He receives at the hands of the Father, as one among all. Therefore let Him say of Judaea, so long as she believed in the mystery of His Incarnation to come, the Lord hath given. Let Him say of her, when she slighted the looked for coming of His Incarnation, the Lord hath taken away. For she was 'given,' when in the persons of a certain number she believed what was to be; but she was 'taken away,' as the just desert of her blindness, when she scorned to hold in veneration the truths believed by those.[2]

By his name, 'mourning' or 'grieving', Gregory also saw that Job signified the travails of the Holy Church,[3] and, to select one instance of many, he explained that when Job says,

> But what shall I do? If I speak, my pain will not rest: and if I hold my peace, it will not depart from me. But now my sorrow hath oppressed me: and all my limbs are brought to nothing. My wrinkles bear witness against me: and a false speaker riseth up against my face, contradicting me. He hath gathered together his fury against me; and threatening me he hath gnashed with his teeth upon me. My enemy hath beheld me with terrible eyes,
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> (xvi, 7-10)

he is a type of Holy Church when if she speaks the wicked

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[1]Hugh of St. Victor, P.L., CLXXVII, 705.

[2]Gregory, Morals, I, 109.

[3]Ibid., 27.

do not amend, and if she is silent she laments the more knowing that the sin of the wicked grows to a height. The church is full of grief because her members follow the example of the wicked. The wrinkles of Holy Church are those members who adhere to her when she is powerful because that is popular but leave when storms disquiet her. In time of persecution the church is without wrinkles because these hypocrites desert her. Satan gathers together his fury against the church. He gnashes her with his teeth when his evil designs are executed on her members, and he beholds her with terrible eyes since, by the counsels of bad men, he never ceases to make out schemes of mischief to torment her.[1]

Bruno of Asti carried on this idea of Job as type, jointly of Christ and the Holy Church, for he said that allegorically Job was to be understood as representing all the perfections of the church and in particular of Christ Who "grieving for us took upon himself the cross and was not afraid to die."[2] He used for the word translated here as "grieving", dolens, a significance of Job's name which had long been accepted.[3]

Like many other readers of the Book of Job the exegetes found it necessary to account for the permission

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[1]Gregory, Morals, II, 91-94.

[2]Bruno of Asti, P.L., CLXVI, 551.

[3]See for example the Expositio Interlinearis, formerly attributed to Jerome, P.L., XXIII, 1408. See also p. 148 above.

granted to Satan to attack Job, since it seemed a little strange that God should permit so good a man to undergo such extreme suffering. Chrysostom's explanation was that it was permitted in order that "when he had overcome, after an attack so greatly to his disadvantage, and stretched his adversary on the ground, his crown might be so much the more glorious!"[1] Job, he explained, was like a wrestler,

> For just as in the contests of the outer world, the combatants that are vigorous, and in high condition of body, are not so well discerned, when they are enwrapt all around with the garment soaked in oil; but when casting this aside, they are brought forward unclothed into the arena; then above all they strike the spectators on every side with astonishment at the proportion of their limbs, there being no longer anything to conceal them; so also was it with Job. When he was enveloped in all that wealth, it was not visible to the many, what a man he was. But when, like the wrestler, that strips off his garment, he threw it aside, and came naked to the conflicts of piety, thus unclothed, he astonished all who saw him; so that the very theatre of angels shouted at beholding his fortitude of soul, and applauded him as he won his crown![2]

Tertullian had earlier made the point of Job's victory over Satan when he said, "By as much as God heaped up for the devil a bier in that man, by so much did he withdraw the banner of his glory from the foe, when that man brought forth from his mouth nothing but thanks to God".[3]

The Septuagint version of the story includes among the words of God at the end of Job's trials the statement,

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[1]Chrysostom, Nicene Fathers, 1st ser., IX, 338-339.

[2]Ibid., 339.

[3]Tertullian, Liber de Patientia, P.L., I, 1270-1271.

"Dost thou think that I have dealt with thee in any other way, than that thou mightest appear to be righteous" (xl, 3),[1] and these words provided part of the explanation given by the exegetes of the purpose of the suffering inflicted on Job. Tertullian said that God gave Satan power over the person of Job that "his strength might be made perfect in weakness"[2] thus applying to him the words which St. Paul used with regard to the sting in his flesh (2 Cor. xii, 9). Theodoret, in a letter of sympathy to Bishop Irenaeus, reminded him of Job, "that famous tower of adamant and noble champion of goodness" and said that at the end of his trials "stood the righteous Law-giver explaining the reason for them--that thou mightest appear just".[3]

The need to have Job's virtues made apparent to all was stressed several times by Augustine when he explained the purpose behind the sufferings which Job endured. In one place he said,

> For there was already in Job patience, which God knew, and to which He bore witness: but it became known unto men by test of trial: and what lay hid within was not produced, but shown, by the things that were brought on him from without.[4]

Elsewhere he accounted for Job's sufferings on much the same grounds, adding the need of others for such an example, saying, "he was proved for this reason, not that the

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[1]Here and elsewhere I use Brenton's translation of the Septuagint except where another text is cited.

[2]Tertullian, Ante-Nicene Fathers, III, 456.

[3]Theodoret, Nicene Fathers, 2nd ser., III, 253.

[4]Augustine, Nicene Fathers, 1st ser., III, 409.

certainty of his carrying off the conqueror's wreath was unknown to God, but that he might become known as an object of imitation to others."[1]

Gregory suggested that only one virtue was lacking in Job prior to his trials--"that when stricken even he should learn to render thanks". Misfortune then of "a most searching severity" puts to the test his knowledge of how God ought to be served in adversity, as he had shown that he had this knowledge when surrounded by blessings. Thus it is God's loving kindness that permits him to be put to the test for by it Job's merit is augmented.[2]

Anselm asked,

> What therefore was that trial, that lack of abundance, bereavement of children, endurance of wounds, but the exercise of faith, the signal show of patience, the glorious training in virtue and the full admission of victory; so that the devil, his former accuser, was no more. No one therefore would think that what is just is hard.[3]

Such was the exegetes' explanation of the virtue of Job, of the prophetic significance of his words and his behaviour, and the triumph he was able to achieve because God permitted him to be put to the test. There remain to be considered their views of the other characters in the book, Job's friends, his wife and Satan.

The friends are of course wrong in the opinion of the Church Fathers. They are wrong, Gregory Nazianzen

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[1]Augustine, Nicene Fathers, 1st ser., VII, 233.

[2]Gregory, Morals, I, 19.

[3]Anselm, P.L., XV, 1597.

says, because they suppose that Job's disasters are the punishment of vice and not, as they really are, the touchstone of virtue.[1] Gregory the Great sees Eliphaz, Baldad and Sophar as types of heretics,[2] and Eliu is worse than they because he is "the proud within the church, who hold the right faith but so haughtily that sacrifice does not restore him."[3]

It is interesting to note however that isolated quotations from the Book of Job intended to admonish the faithful or to instruct them in some aspect of their faith are more frequently chosen from the words of the friends than from those of Job.

Rabanus Maurus finds Job a useful support on the subject of the general corruption of mankind, quoting, "Who can make him clean that is conceived of unclean seed? Is it not thou who only art" (xiv, 14)? However he follows this with "The stars are not pure in the sight of God, how much less man that is rottenness, and the son of man who is a worm?"[4] This addition is not of course from the mouth of Job but from that of his friend Baldad (xxv, 5-6).

Rabanus was not alone in finding in the words of the opponents of Job scriptural support for an idea he was

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[1]Gregory Nazianzen, Nicene Fathers, 2nd ser., VI, 274.

[2]Gregory, Morals, I, 27.

[3]Ibid., p. 29.

[4]Rabanus Maurus, "Epistola XV", M.G.H., Epistolae, V, 412.

advancing. Clement the First, advising the Corinthians of the value of mutual admonitions, says that they

> tend to unite us to the will of God, . . . he [the holy Word] saith, "Blessed is the man whom the Lord reproveth, and reject not thou the warning of the Almighty. For He causes sorrow, and again restores; He woundeth, and His hands make whole. He shall deliver thee in six troubles, yea, in the seventh no evil shall touch thee. In famine He shall rescue thee from death, and in war He shall free thee from the power of the sword. From the scourge of the tongue will He hide thee, and thou shalt not fear when evil cometh. Thou shalt laugh at the unrighteous and the wicked, and shalt not be afraid of the beasts of the field. For the wild beasts shall be at peace with thee: then shalt thou know that thy house shall be in peace, and the habitation of thy tabernacle shall not fail. Thou shalt know also that thy seed shall be great, and thy children like the grass of the field. And thou shalt come to the grave like ripened corn which is reaped in its season, or like a heap of the threshing-floor which is gathered together at the proper time" [Job v, 17-26]. Ye see, beloved, that protection is afforded to those that are chastened of the Lord; for since God is good, He corrects us, that we may be admonished by His holy chastisement.[1]

Clement is here strengthening his argument from that of Eliphaz against Job. He quoted him again when advising his correspondents not to exalt themselves in their own conceit, since all men are weak and made of dust. For this advice he selects the words of Eliphaz from various parts of the book: iv, 16-18; xv, 15; iv, 19-21; and v, 1-5.[2] Earlier he exhorted his readers,

> Let us clothe ourselves with concord and humility, ever exercising self-control, standing far off from all whispering and evil-speaking, being justified by

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[1]Clement the First, Ante-Nicene Fathers, I, 20. Parts of this speech are also quoted in the Middle English Chastising of God's Children and The Profits of Tribulation (see above, p. 107). However they are there used to refer to misfortune rather than to admonition.

[2]Clement the First, Ante-Nicene Fathers, I, 15.

> our works, and not our words. For [the scripture] saith, "He that speaketh much, shall also hear much in answer. And does he that is ready in speech deem himself righteous? Blessed is he that is born of woman, who liveth but a short time: be not given to much speaking."[1]

The quotation, possibly from memory, seems to be from the Septuagint version of xi, 2-3, where the speaker is Sophar. In the course of recommending virtue and the shunning of vice, John Cassian says, "concerning anger and jealousy the blessed Job says: 'For anger slayeth a fool, and envy killeth a child'" (v, 2).[2] The advice may be sound, but it is given not by Job but by Eliphaz, and is given to Job. Augustine too uses an admonition spoken against Job, not by him. He advises that

> the safe and true way to heaven is made by humility, which lifts up the heart to the Lord, not against Him; as this giant is said to have been a 'hunter against the Lord.' . . . The same word occurs in the book of Job, where it is written, 'Thou hast broken into fury against the Lord.'[3]

It does indeed occur in the Book of Job (xv, 13) but not in a speech of the titular hero but of his friend Eliphaz. The "Constitutions of the Holy Apostles", written in the third or fourth century, warns that

> he that has money and does not bestow it upon others, nor use it himself, is like the serpent, which they say sleeps over the treasures; and of him is that scripture true which says, "He has gathered riches of which he shall not taste" [Job xx, 18, LXX] and they will be of no use to him when he perishes justly. . . . Such a one is a dissembler of the truth, an accepter of persons, unfaithful, cheating, fearful,

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[1]Clement the First, Ante-Nicene Fathers, I, 13.

[2]John Cassian, Nicene Fathers, 2nd ser., XI, 242.

[3]Augustine, Nicene Fathers, 1st ser., II, 313.

> unmanly, light, of no value, a complainer, ever in pain, his own enemy, and nobody's friend. Such a one's money shall perish, and a man that is a stranger shall consume it, either by theft while he is alive, or by inheritance when he is dead. "For riches unjustly gotten shall be vomited up."[1]

Here it is Sophar who is quoted, though his object is not Job but "the wicked".

What Eliu says too is quoted as carrying the weight of holy scripture. Thus Ignatius writes to the Magnesians, advising them to yield reverence to their young bishop, having regard for his knowledge in God, and borrows Eliu's claim, "not the ancient are necessarily wise, nor do the ages understand prudence; but there is a spirit in men" (xxxii, 8-9).[2] Augustine explains that power is given to the wicked, like Nero, because God

> judges that the state of human affairs is worthy of such lords. The divine utterance is clear on this matter . . . [Prov. viii, 15] in another place it is most unambiguously said of God, that He "maketh the man who is an hypocrite to reign on account of the perversity of the people" [xxxiv, 30].[3]

The statement is indeed unambiguous, but that Eliu should be quoted as an authority is a little odd in view of the fact that he was seen as an example of the proud whom no sacrifice can restore.[4] Yet Augustine not only has recourse to him as an authority but praises the insight which permits him to speak of the Holy Ghost in the words,

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[1]"Constitutions of the Holy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, VII, 433-434.

[2]Ignatius, Ante-Nicene Fathers, I, 60.

[3]Augustine, Nicene Fathers, 1st ser., II, 101-102.

[4]Gregory, Morals, I, 29.

"For I hoped that greater age would speak, and that a multitude of years would teach wisdom. But, as I see, there is a spirit in men, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth understanding" (xxxii, 7-8).[1]

Perhaps however it is not correct to say that Augustine praises Eliu for this. He quotes him with approval and uses the fact that his speech occurs in the Bible to substantiate his argument for the existence and nature of the Holy Ghost. The passage is treated as an authoritative scriptural pronouncement, not as the speech of Eliu. This practice is commonly applied to all the other speeches of the friends. It is in this way that the De Contemptu Mundi quotes Eliphaz (v, 7; iv, 8-9; xv, 15; iv, 18; and xv, 16) and Sophar (xx, 2 and xx, 6-7).[2]

Nevertheless Gregory recognizes that speeches from which he gleans a worthwhile tropological meaning are made by Baldad or Eliphaz. He excuses this on the grounds that, for example, though Baldad is wrong to tell Job to examine the statements of former generations in order to learn wisdom, he is wrong only because he is presuming to instruct one who is wiser than himself, and what he says is worth study.[3] He also finds in Eliphaz an example of a speech which though correct does not earn merit for the one who utters it, because he chooses the wrong time,

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[1]Augustine, Nicene Fathers, 1st ser., V, 323.

[2]Innocent III, P.L., CCXVII, 706-734.

[3]Gregory, Morals, I, 467-468.

place or person to address.[1] It might however be suspected that the Fathers felt a greater affinity for the things which the friends said than they had for those which Job said, being, in this, like the much later Dionysius the Carthusian (see above, p. 121). Certainly they found in the words of Job's friends far more passages with which to support their admonitions than they did in the words of Job himself.

Job's wife fares rather worse than the friends at the hands of the exegetes. Chrysostom thought that if no one else had taunted Job, "his wife's words alone were sufficient utterly to shake a very rock."[2] A commentary wrongly attributed to Jerome says that the devil incited the tongue of the woman, causing her to say to her husband, "Dost thou still continue in thy simplicity? Bless God, and die", but that this tactic did not triumph.[3] Augustine sees her as a second Eve, unsuccessful only because Job was superior to Adam. As with Adam,

> a bad woman sought by her persuasion to deceive [Job], she too representing that serpent, who, like as in Paradise he deceived the man whom God first made, so likewise here by suggesting blasphemy thought to be able to deceive a man who pleased God. What things he suffered, . . . Who can have so much to suffer in his estate, his house, his sons, his flesh, yea in his very wife who was left to be his tempter! But even her who was left, the devil would have taken away long ago, but that he kept her to be his helper: because

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[1] Gregory, Morals, I, 363.

[2] Chrysostom, Nicene Fathers, 1st ser., X, 225. Chrysostom was, of course, thinking of the Septuagint in which Job's wife gives a moving picture of her misery.

[3] Jerome, P.L., XXIII, 1411.

> by Eve he had mastered the first man, therefore had he kept an Eve.[1]

This Eve the devil reserved "for the exercised sufferer, not to console but to tempt her husband. . . . She exaggerated his miseries, and her miseries too with his, and began to persuade him to blaspheme."[2] Gregory too uses and extends her resemblance to Eve:

> Eve repeats her own words. For what is it to say, "give over thine integrity," but "disregard obedience by eating the forbidden thing?" And what is it to say, Bless God and die, but "live by mounting above the commandment, above what thou wast created to be?"[3]

By tempting her husband, Job's wife is like Peter tempting Christ,[4] and is a type of the carnal in the church,

> who having place within the Holy Church with unamended morals, as by their faith they are brought near to the godly, press them the more sorely by their lives, since while they cannot be shunned as being of the faithful, they are endured by the faithful as the greater harm by how much nearer home.[5]

Odo of Cluny defends the genus "woman" from the stigma of folly and says that in specifying that she has spoken as one of the foolish women, Job shows that stupidity is an "accident" in this woman, not a condition of nature.[6] The "Hystore Job", the anonymous translation of

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[1]Augustine, Nicene Fathers, 1st ser., III, 372.

[2]Ibid., VI, 353.

[3]Gregory, Morals, I, 139. The Glossa Ordinaria which draws heavily on Gregory's Moralia in its exposition of the Book of Job incorporates this passage into its text (P.L., CXIII, 757).

[4]Gregory, Morals, I, 156.

[5]Ibid., p. 27.

[6]Odo of Cluny, P.L., CXXXIII, 129-130.

Pierre de Blois' Compendium in Job, says however that because Satan knows that woman is frail and given to deceit he wishes to conquer Job by her and lead him into sin. L'Hystore Job is not long enough, says its author, to list all the examples of dishonour in women, whom one ought to honour for the sake of Mary through whom men's pardon is wrought.[1]

Due perhaps to the influence of exegesis, iconography gave her the role of tormenter and identified her by typology with those who mocked Christ in His crucifixion. This can be seen from the illustration in the Bible Moralisée illustrée, which pairs the picture of Job's wife taunting him with an illustration of the crucifixion.[2] In the Speculum Humanae Salvationis she is armed with a pitch fork and from each of its three teeth floats a banner telling of the injuries, reproaches and temptations she used against her husband.[3]

Exegesis finds that Satan's role in the Book of Job is not limited to the first two chapters, but is discovered in the speeches of God in chapters xl and xli veiled under the descriptions of behemoth and leviathan. Origen detects his condition as fallen angel under the words "Thou wilt take with a hook the apostate dragon" (xl, 20, Septuagint), and says, "Now it is certain that by

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[1] L'Hystore Job, ll. 2660-710.

[2] La Bible Moralisée illustrée, Plate 209.

[3] Réau, Iconographie de l'art Chrétien, I, 316.

the dragon is understood the devil himself".[1] This tradition is continued by Jerome,[2] and Eucherius of Lyon,[3] among others.

Gregory is concerned to make it clear that, although Satan comes into the presence of God as the angels do (i, 6 and ii, 2), he comes through his subtle nature but is unable to see God. He is as the blind in the bright rays of the sun, deprived of its light.[4]

Similarly, his powers are limited. Ambrose says,

> For as the Lord did not give power to Satan over the soul of holy Job, but allowed him to afflict his body, so here, too, the sinner is delivered to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the serpent might lick the dust of his flesh, but not hurt his soul.[5]

Such was the legacy of interpretation which early biblical scholars provided for the Book of Job. In transmitting this legacy Gregory's exhaustive study of the Book of Job was of unparalleled importance. It gathered together earlier interpretations and added to them Gregory's own contributions. It was immediately popular and its popularity continued throughout the Middle Ages. In a letter to Innocent, Prefect of Africa, Gregory praises the zeal which has prompted the perfect to ask for a copy of his book, although he modestly says that if the prefect

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[1]Origen, Ante-Nicene Fathers, IV, 259.

[2]Jerome, Nicene Fathers, 2nd ser., VI, 391.

[3]Eucherius of Lyon, P.L., L, 755 and 757.

[4]Gregory, Morals, I, 70-71.

[5]Ambrose, Nicene Fathers, 2nd ser., X, 339.

really wishes to be fed upon delicious food, he must read the works of "the blessed Augustine, your countryman, and not seek our chaff in comparison with his fine wheat."[1] He had to write to John, subdeacon of Ravenna, forbidding the reading of the Moralia at evensong: "seeing that this is not a popular work, and engenders hindrance rather than advancement to rude hearers."[2] Isidore Hispalensis, who died in 636, sang its praises, saying,

> In which same volume, how many mysteries of the sacraments are laid open, and how many precepts on the love of eternal life, or how many verbal ornaments glisten, no wise man is equal to explaining, even if all his members were turned into tongues.[3]

It became one of the favourite texts of Christian doctrine, and Dudden says of it,

> Manuscripts were multiplied, epitomes compiled; by the twelfth century numerous translations had been made and circulated, and for the next five or six hundred years the commentary was regarded as indispensable for every well-furnished theological library.[4]

The Glossa Ordinaria (P.L., CXIII, 747 ff.) departs from its usual custom of drawing on the works of many commentators and summarizes Gregory's Moralia as its gloss for the Book of Job. Other well-known epitomes were the Epitome Moralium in Job of Odo of Cluny (P.L., CXXXIII, 105 ff.), De libro Job by Peter Damian (P.L., CXLV, 1130 ff.), Expositio in Job by Bruno of Asti (P.L., CLXIV,

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[1]Gregory, Nicene Fathers, 2nd ser., XIII, 47.

[2]Ibid., 88.

[3]Quoted by Dudden, Gregory, I, footnote 1, p. 195.

[4]Ibid., pp. 195-196.

551 ff.), Rupert of Deutz, Super Job Commentarius (P.L., CLXVIII, 963 ff.), and Compendium in Job by Peter of Blois (P.L., CCVII, 795 ff.).

Peter of Blois prepared his Compendium at the request of Henry II of England and so it is probable that he made it between the time he assumed the office of chancellor to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1176 and Henry's death in 1189. R. C. Bates has aptly described his method:

> In general, Peter only summarizes for his master the historical sense of the Moralia of Gregory, which furnished him with an opportunity to give examples of patience and other virtues and, at the same time, to send out vehement attacks against the greed and gluttony of monks and clerks, the hypocrisy of courtiers, against the judges of the kingdom, against everyone in fact except the king for whom he had only pleasant and flattering words.[1]

Peter used only a fraction of Gregory's Moralia in his summary for the king and explains his omissions by saying,

> And because it is your good pleasure, unconquerable prince, that I relate the life of holy Job with terse and expeditious brevity, I pass over his words and the answers of the friends and the secret things of the sacraments hidden in them, truly lest I offend the delicacy of your excellency's ears by prolonged words, so vast is the flood of that attempt.[2]

Peter's work was translated about a century later by an anonymous Picard monk, no less zealous than Peter to reform the world, although the specific objects of his criticism were somewhat different. He follows the lead of his source in abridging it, saying,

> Et pour che que jou trop me doubte
> que se je pourvievoie toute

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[1] L'Hystore Job, p. xiii.

[2] Peter of Blois, P.L., CCVII, 822.

l'ystore Job de point en point
que ne fasisse pas a point,
et que moult de coers n'anuiaisse
et moult d'orelles n'estonnaisse--
car ch'est une grans mers parfons
u on ne poroit trouver fons
qui vorroit mettre au teuxte glose;
pour chou voel abregier la cose
qu'on dist qu'orisons bries trespasse
les chieux, pour chou briefment m'en passe;
et chil qui au monde sont ore
en brief sermon prendent leur glore.
Se voel cheste hystore abregier
et me passerai de legier
des parlers, des responsions
et de leurs expositions
qui li sainte Escripture a mis
en termes entre les amis
de Job et le li, lonc l'ystore.[1]

The epitomes carried the main ideas of the interpretations of the exegetes to a wider public than they might otherwise have reached and this may be the reason that the typological aspects of exegesis exerted considerable influence on works of art during the Mediaeval period. As Frederick Hartt has pointed out Job appeared most frequently in the art of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as prefiguring the passion of Christ.[2] Hartt says that "Job's verbal cudgellings at the hands of his wife and the devil appear on cathedral portals as prefigurements of Christ's own afflictions."[3] Réau has suggested that wherever Job is pictured on his dunghill, stricken with ulcers, there is a suggestion of Christ Whose assumption of human form was an entrance into the

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[1] L'Hystore Job, ll. 3133-153.

[2] Hartt, "Carpaccio's Meditation on the Passion", pp. 27-29.

[3] Ibid., p. 28.

"stable of our vices", and also of His passion.[1] The implication seems obvious too in the great door of Troyes Cathedral where he prefigures the flagellation.[2]

Three illustrated works in which the typological connection is very clearly made are La Bible moralisée illustrée, the Biblia Pauperum and the Speculum Humanae Salvationis.

The Bible moralisée was produced in thirteenth-century France and M. R. James says that it was peculiar to that country.[3] Fewer than ten manuscripts of this work survive and it is unlikely that so expensive a book was ever produced in quantity--the Book of Job alone has 176 illustrations. The text is in Latin and shows itself to be heavily indebted to the allegorical interpretation of scripture as found in Gregory and other Church Fathers. On each page a very brief text is accompanied by eight small illustrations related in pairs. Job's life story is reported and for each incident, and for a great many of the speeches, a comparable condition of Holy Church, an item of dogma, or a parallel from the life of Christ is given. Time after time the connection between Job and Christ is made. The illustration of Job's wealth in asses and sheep is accompanied by another of Christ blessing a boy and two women, types of the faithful whom Job's cattle

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[1] Réau, Iconographie, I, 315.

[2] Ibid., p. 316.

[3] Speculum Humanae Salvationis, p. 34.

signify.[1] Job sanctifies his sons and Christ blesses a group of men. Job's sons and daughters banquet together and Christ presides over the apostles. Job offers an ox and Christ washes the feet of the apostles.[2] Job rends his garments and a resurrected Christ shows Thomas His wounds.[3] Satan breathes on Job, Christ's crucifixion is illustrated.[4] Job's wife taunts him, the crowd mocks Christ on the cross.[5] God approves Job's words, and Christ enters Jerusalem on a donkey.[6] Messengers bring bad news to Job, and the devil taunts Holy Church with the behaviour of the faithful.[7] Over and over again the allegorical significance is made instantly apparent to the reader through the illustrations.

The Biblia Pauperum, which consists almost invariably of some 120 pictures, was assembled in south or west Germany about 1300.[8] In it text and illustrations of the events of the life of Christ are grouped in pairs, and each pair is accompanied by some incident in the Old Testament which was thought to have foreshadowed it. Thus

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[1] La Bible moralisée, V, Plate 204.

[2] Ibid., Plate 205.

[3] Ibid., Plate 207.

[4] Ibid., Plate 208.

[5] Ibid., Plate 209.

[6] Ibid., Plate 212.

[7] Ibid., Plate 206.

[8] Speculum, p. 5.

the flagellation and derision of Christ are accompanied by an illustration of the torments with which Satan afflicted Job. The joys of paradise find their counterpart in the feasts of Job's children.[1]

In the Speculum Humanae Salvationis each event in the life of Christ is accompanied by three types from the Old Testament. Two of the manuscripts of this work give it the date of 1324 and both James and Perdrizet accept this as the date of composition and accept Ludolph of Saxony as its author.[2] The original text was in rhyming Latin prose, and in most manuscripts it is accompanied by 192 miniatures. Two hundred and sixty-four manuscripts are known to exist, by far the greater number being in Latin, although there are copies in German, French and Czech, as well as one in English.[3] Perdrizet says that almost all monasteries and princely libraries had a copy of this work at the close of the Middle Ages, and he says of it, "C'est l'un des ouvrages de piété dont le Moyen Age, à son declin, s'est le plus nourri."[4] A French prose version was made in 1448 by Jean Mielot[5] and a rhyming English version probably in the sixteenth century.[6] In

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[1]Cornell, Biblia Pauperum, p. 35.

[2]Speculum, pp. 5 and 9, and Perdrizet, Etude sur le Speculum Humanae Salvationis, pp. 34-41.

[3]Perdrizet, p. 4.

[4]Ibid., pp. 4-5.

[5]Speculum, p. 8.

[6]The Miroure of Mans Saluacionne, pp. xiv, xv.

the Speculum Job appears as one of the Old Testament counterparts of the flagellation, here doubled. The text of the English version which accompanies this illustration explains,

> This double scourging of crist als haly writte leryng we hope
> Was some tyme prefigured in the flagellacionne of Job
> ffor Job was two falde scourged in certeine tyme of this lyve
> Be beting sore of the feend And bittere wordes of his wyve
> Off Satanas scourge tholed Job in his flesh outwardes smert
> And of the scourge of his wife hadde he turment in hert
> The feend thoght noght ynogh to scourge his flesh outwards
> Bot he his wyfe entyced to troble his hert inwards
> So suffized noght the Jewes yt crist with scourgis was bette
> But if with bitterest wordes euerilkone on hym sette
> No hele was left in Job fro the toppe vnto the too
> And cristes swete tenderest flesshe was alle bewondid ryght so.[1]

This acceptance of Job as a type of Christ in his sufferings, his meekness and his humility had been begun centuries before in the exegesis of the text of the Bible. Exegesis provided too the view of him as prophet of the incarnation and the resurrection of Christ and as the enunciator of the doctrine of the resurrection of the body. It was owing to the close reading given to the text of the Book of Job by the exegetical writers that Job was, to the Middle Ages, far more than the mere example of patience he has since become.

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[1] The Miroure of Mans Saluacionne, p. 75.

CHAPTER V

EXEGESIS IN MIDDLE ENGLISH LITERATURE

Not unnaturally Middle English authors followed the general trends of the exegetes in their interpretation of the Book of Job and where they extended or altered the meaning of some passages from their original significance the writings of the Church Fathers were often the source of the new meanings the passages took on.

In some instances the borrowings were straightforward, the interpretations and explanations of the exegetes being incorporated into the Middle English works. Thus to account for the presence of Satan in heaven which might have seemed strange to his audience, Aelfric borrowed a simile from Gregory's Moralia,[1] which he rendered:

> Swa stod se deofol on Godes gesihðe, swa swa deð se blinde on sunne. Seo sunne embscinð þone blinde, & se blinde ne gesihð þaere sunne leome. God geseh þone deofel, & se deofel swa þeh wæs bedæled Godes gesihðe & his wuldres.[2]

The messenger's report that "the fire of God fell from heaven and, striking the sheep and the servants, hath consumed them" (Job i, 16) was also in need of explanation since it suggested that God was taking part in the persecution of Job. In this case Aelfric had to adapt Gregory's

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[1] Gregory, Morals, I, 71.

[2] Early English Homilies, p. 123.

explication because his wording of the messenger's report was slightly different, "'Fyr com færlice of heofene'".[1] Gregory had said that the suggestion that the sheep had been destroyed by the fire of God was particularly bitter to Job since it gave the impression that he was being attacked by the very God Whom he had always sought to serve, and that thus every avenue of consolation was closed to him.[2] In Aelfric's adaptation this reads, "þat fyr com ufen þe þa scep forbærnde, ac hit ne com na of heofone, þeh hit swa gehywod wære, for þan þe se deofol næs on heofene næfre syððen he þanen þurh modignysse afeoll mid his geferen."[3] Gregory's influence can also be seen in Aelfric's extension of the implications of the passage from scripture, "In all these things Job did not sin with his lips" (ii, 10). Here Aelfric explains, "On twam wisen mæn synegieð on heora weleren; þat is, gyf heo unriht specað oððe riht forswigeð, ac Job ne synegode on his weleren, for þan þe he dyselice ongean God ne spæc, ne eac Godes herunge ne forswigode."[4] The first part of this

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[1] Early English Homilies, p. 124.

[2] Gregory, Morals, I, 84. It is worthy of note that Gregory sometimes sees the messengers as agents of Satan, sometimes as Satan himself. In this case he says, "But that the cunning adversary might at one and the same moment crush the bold heart of the holy man, both by strokes from man and by despair in God, he both brought tidings at first that the Sabeans had made an irruption, and announced immediately afterwards that the fire of God had fallen from heaven." It might almost seem that Gregory is here influenced by the legends of Job in which the messengers are Satan in disguise. See below, p. 220.

[3] Early English Homilies, p. 125.

[4] Ibid.

explanation is borrowed almost verbatim from Gregory, though with a change of person, for Gregory says, "We sin with our lips in two ways; either when we say unjust things or withhold the just. Blessed Job, then, in all that he did, sinned in no wise with his lips."[1] Aelfric however makes a slight change in what follows for although Gregory's first commendation, that Job did not speak "proudly against the smiter"[2] corresponds with Aelfric's, his praise of Job for speaking is that he did not withhold "the right answer to the advisor",[3] his wife. Gregory's summing up however includes the point Aelfric makes as it says, "Neither by speech, therefore, nor by silence did he offend, who both gave thanks to the Father that smote him, and administered wisdom of instruction to the ill advising wife."[4]

A slight deviation which Aelfric makes from Gregory shows the control Aelfric exercised in adapting material from various sources to suit his own purposes. It could of course be quite by coincidence that both these men found it necessary to allay criticism of Job for being the "relator of his own goodness".[5] However it is possible that Aelfric knew Gregory's explanation of this but

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[1]Gregory, Morals, I, 141.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid., 141-142.

[5]Ibid., 21.

rejected it in favour of one he found more useful to him. Gregory says,

> He then did not thereby fall into the sin of presumption, because he resisted an inward impulse to despair by the outward expression of his own eulogies, to the end that while he recounted the good things which he had done he might be saved from despairing of the good that he had sought.[1]

It seems possible that Aelfric rejected this rather ponderous explanation in favour of one that would direct the attention of the readers to the nature of the virtues Job had listed and so effect his aim of presenting Job as an example for them to follow. The "Forbisne" explains, "Ne sæde Job þiss for gelpe, ac for þan þe he wæs ealle mannen to bisne gesett."[2]

On the subject of the friends Aelfric adopts an explanation from Gregory's Moralia which makes explicit what is only implied in the Book of Job. That their intention in visiting Job was good but their performance faulty is pointed out when Aelfric says, "Heo comen hine to frefrigen, þa awenden heo heora frofre to edwite, & hine mid heora worden tregedon, swylce he for his synnen swa getucod wære."[3] This closely resembles the blend of praise and blame in Gregory's assessment of the friends' behaviour which says that they "came indeed to administer consolation, but . . . deviate from their purpose even to

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[1]Gregory, Morals, I, 21.

[2]Early English Homilies, p. 124.

[3]Ibid., p. 126.

using terms of reproach."[1]

Aelfric's admonition that the petitioner is himself rewarded when he prays for others, and that God restored Job when he prayed for his friends,[2] is also in accord with Gregory's comment that

> it is plainly shewn, that a penitent has deserved to be heard the more quickly in his own behalf, the more devoutly he has interceded for his friends. For he makes his prayers more powerful in his own behalf, who offers them also in behalf of others.[3]

In each of these cases, with the possible exception of the idea of Satan blinded by the light of God, and the correcting of the impression that the fire which burned Job's sheep was sent by God, the material borrowed has helped to achieve Aelfric's purpose of using Job as an example to those who heard his homily. Even the two exceptions can be seen to have had the purpose of reassuring the listener that Satan's power was limited and God's benevolence boundless.

A similar intention of moral admonition is to be found in "The Life of Job" where the sacrifices which Job

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[1]Gregory, Morals, I, 23. The Acrene Riwle develops this whole idea one stage farther so that it becomes a general admonition that speech is dangerous since it carries the speaker beyond what he intended when he began. It says, "auh moni punt hire word uorte leten mo vt. as me deð water etter mulne cluse. & so duden iobes freond þat weren i cumen to urouren him. seten stille alle seoueniht auh þeo hefden alles bigunne uorto spekene; þeo ne kuþen heo neuere astunten hore cleppe", p. 31. This varies so much from Gregory that it seems to represent independent thought.

[2]Early English Homilies, p. 128.

[3]Gregory, Morals, III, Pt. 2, 675-676.

makes for his children after the days of feasting are completed are offered "by cause in grete festynges is ofte tymes sayn/Voluptuose fraylte and ydell loquacite."[1] This is not suggested in the original which gives Job's reason as, "Lest perhaps my sons have sinned, and have blessed God in their hearts" (i, 5). Gregory however specifically makes this point both in connection with his explanation of this passage[2] and later when he explains that the death of the children is particularly distressing because they had been cut off during a feast, and such events were infrequently without some transgression.[3] So following the exegetical tradition the Middle English poet included a development not in the original.

One exegetical explanation drew from the text of the Book of Job a comforting reflection to which many didactic writers had recourse in order to encourage their readers. The visits of Satan to heaven were seen as proof that he could not independently do harm to anyone. Thus the Ancrene Riwle reminds its readers that "al ðet vuel ðet he euer dude iob; euer he nom leaue ðerof ec et ure louerde."[4] "The Remedy against the Troubles of Temptations" recalls that Christ told Peter that Satan asked and desired to sift him as men sift wheat (Luke xxii, 31-32)

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[1]"The Life of Job", ll. 22-23.

[2]Gregory, Morals, I, 36-37.

[3]Ibid., 86.

[4]Ancrene Riwle, p. 102.

and adds as further evidence that Satan has no power to tempt the servants of God without permission that this was "euydently knowen by the temptacyons of Iob whome the fende besyfted and tempted."[1] The Metrical Paraphrase also quotes Job as saying,

> And yf þe fend þis wo hath wroyȝt
> and mad me to haue þis myschefe,
> I haue gud mynd his myȝt is noyȝt
> ferrer þen god wyll gyf hym lefe.[2]

Chaucer, in the Friar's Tale, has the devil admit that his powers are limited when he says,

> And somtyme, at oure prayere, han we leve
> Oonly the body and nat the soule greve;
> Witnesse on Job, whom that we diden wo.[3]

The Chastising of God's Children admonishes, "But heere ȝe musten taken heede and vndirstonde þat sum men bien trauelid of goddis suffrance bi þe wicked spirit wiþ bodili sikenesse, . . . as iob was, but euermore bi grace þei haue her wittis and reson wiþ hem."[4] The same work reveals the source of this attitude toward the limitations under which Satan operates when it says, "To afferme þe wordis of seint gregori of þe power of wicked spirites, þe stori of iob shewiþ openli, where þe fiend durst no more tempte hym þan was grauntid hym bi þe leue of god."[5] The

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[1] Yorkshire Writers, II, 114.

[2] Metrical Paraphrase, ll. 14857-860.

[3] Chaucer, Friar's Tale, ll. 1489-491. In the Pardoner's Tale the fiend "hadde leve" to bring the youngest rioter to sorrow (C), 848.

[4] The Chastising of God's Children, pp. 166-167.

[5] Ibid., p. 161.

author is here referring to the passage in which Gregory sets forth the implications of Satan's appeals to God for permission to strike Job:

> It is very deserving of notice that even he, who is so especially lifted up against the Maker of all things, never claims to himself the power to strike; for the devil knows well that he is unable to do anything of himself, for neither in that he is a spirit does he subsist by himself. Hence it is that in the Gospel, the legion, which was to be cast out of the man, exclaimed, If Thou cast us out, suffer us to go away into the herd of swine; for what wonder is it if he, who could not by his own power enter into the swine, had no power without the Creator's hand to touch the holy man's house?[1]

Another type of exegetical influence on Middle English writers is seen in the association of certain characters and incidents from other parts of the Bible with certain passages from the Book of Job.

One of the simplest instances of this type of influence links Eve tempting Adam with Job's wife urging him to "bless God and die" (ii, 9). Aelfric says that "se swicola feond genam þat wif him to fylste, þat he þone halge were þurh heo beswica, swa swa he ær Adam þurh Eue beswac."[2] In this he follows Gregory and many other exegetical writers.[3]

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[1]Gregory, Morals, I, 79. Augustine too makes this point, saying that Job "knew that the devil had no power against him, unless from the Almighty Ruler of all things he received that power", Nicene Fathers, VIII, 446. The Metrical Paraphrase seems to echo this rather than Gregory in the passage quoted above.

[2]Early English Homilies, p. 126.

[3]Gregory, Morals, I, 137. This connection was discussed more fully on pp. 159-160.

Another of these connections is made in the "Pety Job" when it deals with the passage, "thou hast appointed his [man's] bound which cannot be passed" (xiv, 5). It begins,

> Hys termes, lord, thow hast ordeyned
> How longe he shall now lyue here;
> That may he not passe, ne be refreyned,
> But by thyne absolute power.[1]

However the modification that the bounds may at times be passed "by thyne absolute power" is followed by a reference to an Old Testament story in which this occurred,

> Thys sentence may be well susteyned
> By a story, as we may here,
> How Ezechye to deth-ward peyned,
> And yet god addyd over xv yere.
> Hys kyndly tyme was comen full nere,
> But for hys synnes tho wepte he.[2]

Centuries earlier Gregory had introduced the story of Hezekiah and the prophecy of his impending death by Isaiah (II Kings xx, 1) into his discussion of this verse of the Book of Job. The event seemed to Gregory a possible contradiction of Job's words and he therefore explained that the prophesied time was that in which Hezekiah doserved to die but that God's mercy granted him an additional fifteen years. God had however, Gregory continued, foreknown that Hezekiah would ask this and that He would grant it and that Hezekiah had not therefore passed the appointed bound of his life which was after the extra fifteen years and not before it.[3] From Gregory too the author of the "Pety

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[1]"Pety Job", ll. 349-352.

[2]Ibid., ll. 353-358.

[3]Gregory, Morals, II, 46.

Job" borrowed the notion, quite unjust to Hezekiah, that the additional years were granted for penitence. In the "Pety Job" the extra years seem a reward for penitence, and in Gregory they have been given in order that he may repent, but in the Book of Kings they were granted when Hezekiah wept and protested the excellence of his life (III Kings xx, 1-6).

No one at all familiar with Middle English literature will be surprised to find an Old Testament figure making reference to something in the New, but the link between Job and Lazarus had been forged long before the author of the Metrical Paraphrase set down Eliphaz's warning to Job that those who live ill will be slain and live in woe[1] and added the example

> Of þe ryche man how yt fell,
> and of A lazar þat lay at his 3ate.
> þe ryche wold with no mercy mell
> bot lyf in lust erly and late.
> þerfor he had his hame in hell
> with fendes foule and fyre full hate.[2]

The connection is made again by Baldad in his next speech when he says that Job claims that he has never injured anyone but neither did the rich man "þat clerkes says had his hame in hell."[3] Like him however, Baldad continues, Job will be punished for the kindness he left undone.[4]

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[1] Metrical Paraphrase, ll. 14707-708.

[2] Ibid., ll. 14715-720.

[3] Ibid., l. 14788.

[4] Ibid., ll. 14789-808.

Lazarus, the pitiful beggar who lay at the gates of the house of the wealthy Dives without any help from the rich man, but later went to heaven while Dives languished in hell, was readily associated with Job who lay on a dunghill in a like condition of poverty. The Constitutions of the Holy Apostles, a work assigned to the second half of the third or early fourth century, cites Job and Lazarus as examples of men who suffered affliction and were later rewarded by God.[1] However the connection made in the Metrical Paraphrase is between the wealthy Job and the wealthy Dives and it is Dives rather than Lazarus whom Gregory discusses in his explication of the words of Job, "Remember that my life is but wind: and my eyes shall not return to see good things" (vii, 7). Like the Metrical Paraphrase it is the missed opportunity of doing good which Gregory speaks of and he connects this verse with the state of mind of Dives when, in hell, he asks for someone to be sent from the dead to warn his brothers of the peril in which they stand (Luke xvi, 27, 28). Dives realizes that he will not return to the world and so is unable to restore himself by doing good deeds but he realizes that his brothers can escape the torments in which he languishes because they are still alive and can seize the opportunities about them. Having established the point that these words express the thoughts of Dives, Gregory uses the irreversible nature of death to impress on his

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[1]Ante-Nicene Fathers, VII, 467.

readers the futility of treasuring temporal possessions rather than the imperishable treasures of eternity.[1]

Another connection between a New Testament event and a specific passage in the Book of Job is made in "Of Three Arrows on Doomsday" where the author shows his debt to Gregory. The arrows are the reproaches which will doom men to hell, of the second of which the writer says,

> O what þis voys schal bee dreedful whan it schal be seid to hem þat as ofte as þei deden not þise þinges to eny þat neede hadde in his naame, so ofte þei deden hem not to him. And no wonder þou3 þis voys schal bee dreedfulle in þe day of doom, sitthe we reden in þe gospel þat Crist, whan he koom in fourme of a seruaunt for to bee deemed of þe false Iewes, seide to hem þat sou3ten for to take hym: 'I am he': and anoon þei 3eeden abak and fellen to þe eerthe. 3ef he þat whan he was deedly and koom to be demed, hadde so feerdful a voys, þat with his oo woord þrew3 to þe grounde so meny steerne men of þe Iewys, a fer moore feerdful voys schal he haue whan he schal come vndeedly with his oost of aungelis & of seyntes for to deeme þe quyke and þe deede, euery man after þat he hath deserued. And þerfore seith Iob: . . . 'Sitthe man may vnneethes heere a luytel drope of his woordes, þe greete þunder of his doom who schalle mowe suffre?' As who seith noone.[2]

Here the writer is following closely Gregory's interpretation of this verse which establishes the connection of Job's, "Lo, these things are said in part, of his ways: and seeing we have heard scarce a little drop of his word, who shall be able to behold the thunder of his greatness?" (xxv, 14) with the Last Judgment and then continues,

> But how incomprehensible and unimaginable that Greatness wherewith He shall come in His second Manifesting, in some degree we estimate aright, if we consider with heedful reflection the weighty particulars of His

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[1]Gregory, Morals, I, 435-437.

[2]Yorkshire Writers, II, 448.

> first Advent. Surely that He might redeem us from Death, the Lord came to die, and the impoverishment and punishments of our flesh He underwent in His own Body; Who before He came to the stock of the Cross, suffered Himself to be bound, to be spit on, to be mocked and to be beaten with blows on His cheek. Observe to what disgraceful treatment He for our sakes consented to come, and yet, before He permitted Himself to be laid hold of, He questioned His persecutors, saying, Whom seek ye? To Whom they thereupon gave answer, Jesus of Nazareth. And when He said to them directly, I am He, He only uttered a voice of the mildest answer, and at once prostrated His armed persecutors to the earth. What then shall He do when He cometh to judge the world, who by one utterance of His voice smote His enemies, even when He came to be judged?[1]

Exegesis also influenced the use Middle English writers made of some passages of the Book of Job by providing for them significances which made them effective for the purposes the writers had in hand. While some of the passages so used might have functioned as the Middle English authors use them without any influence from exegesis, since anyone reading or recalling them might have understood them as the authors do, especially if they were divorced from their original context, the consistency with which several writers interpret a given passage must be due to their common debt to the exegetes.

A passage which lent itself to alteration in meaning was that in which Job says,

> Shall not the fewness of my days be ended shortly? Suffer me, therefore, that I may lament my sorrow a little, Before I go, and return no more: to a land that is dark and covered with the mist of death: a land of misery and darkness, where the shadow of death, and no order, but everlasting horror dwelleth. (x, 20-22)

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[1]Gregory, Morals, II, 316.

Even without the aid of exegesis the "land" which was for Job "Sheol", not so much a place of punishment as a place from which there was no return, would in all probability have been read as "hell" by mediaeval Christians. Without the prompting of exegesis the author of The Pricke of Conscience might very well have drawn on this extract to add to the horror of hell as it does when it says,

> "Loverd þat I noght turne away
> Til þe myrke land", whare sorow es ay,
> Whare wonyng es ay hydus and ille,
> Als Iob says þat þus spekes mar þar-tille:
> . . . . . .
> "Þar nan ordre wonand es," says he,
> "Bot uglynes þat ever mare sal be."[1]

The author of the Metrical Paraphrase also understands this passage to refer to hell, "þe land of dole and dyn . . . ordand . . . /ffor þem þat endes in syne/and geytes no for gyfnes,"[2] and Chaucer's Parson in a translation faithful to the text of the Vulgate assumes that this passage presents a picture of the pains of hell which for some will follow the Day of Judgment.[3]

All these might have been as they are with no intervention of exegesis between them and the text. However Chaucer's Parson uses a technique similar to that by which Gregory explicates this passage, although the Parson modifies the actual text of the Moralia considerably. Thus Gregory's "hell is . . . called 'a land,' because it holds

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[1]The Pricke of Conscience, VI, 6825-832.

[2]Metrical Paraphrase, ll. 15141-144.

[3]Parson's Tale, ll. 176-177.

stedfastly all that it takes in"[1] becomes in Chaucer, "The cause why that Job clepeth helle the lond of derknesse; understondeth that he clepeth it 'lond' or erthe, for it is stable, and nevere shal faille."[2] Chaucer's "'derk,' for he that is in helle hath defaute of light material"[3] seems to be a curtailed version of Gregory's distinction that although most fires give both light and consuming heat the fire of hell "that is the avenger of past sins has a consuming property but no light."[4] Chaucer explains that "the shadwe of deeth" means an imitation of death, substituted for the real death which those in hell think they are always on the point of attaining.[5] He then quotes his authority saying,

> For, as seith Seint Gregorie, "To wrecche caytyves shal be deeth withoute deeth, and ende withouten ende, and defaute withoute failynge. For hir deeth shal alwey lyven, and hir ende shal everemo bigynne, and hir defaute shal nat faille."[6]

He adds two more details, again identifying the "land" of the text of Job with hell saying,

> And eek Job seith that in helle is noon ordre of rule . . . and for they shullen have noon hope to escape, seith Seint Job atte laste that "ther shal horrour and grisly drede dwellen withouten ende."[7]

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[1]Gregory, Morals, I, 565.

[2]Parson's Tale, ll. 181-182.

[3]Ibid., l. 182.

[4]Gregory, Morals, I, 566.

[5]Chaucer, Parson's Tale, ll. 211-213.

[6]Ibid., l. 215; cf. Gregory, Morals, I, 569.

[7]Ibid., ll. 217 and 223.

The adjustment of Job's words which made of them, not a description of Sheol, but a description of hell, led to an alteration in the wording of the first part of the passage when it was used by Middle English writers. A homilist explains Job's request to be permitted to lament his sorrow by saying,

> Þe holie man iob þe non ne was his efning on eorðe. he us giueð fair forbisne to bireusen ure saule sor. þat is ure sinnes. þer he seið . . . þole me louerd alitelwan þat ich bimurne mi sor; er ich wite to þe þestere wunienge.[1]

A similar adjustment of meaning in Job's complaint is made in the Metrical Paraphrase which, after quoting it in Latin, renders it,

> A lytyll whyle, lord, suffer me,
> þat lang hath bene both def and dum,
> þat I may meyne me vnto þe
> and schew my syns all and sum.[2]

The "Pety Job" also asks an interval to weep, "The tyme that euer I greved the/In ded or thought, by nyght or day"[3] and "The Lessouns of the Dirige" also asks to be granted "To wepe and wayle, repente my synne."[4] The Parson's Tale too alleges, "Loo, heere may ye seen that Job preyde respit a while, to biwepe and waille his trespas; for soothly oo day of respit is bettre than al the tresor of the world."[5]

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[1] Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century, p. 69.

[2] Metrical Paraphrase, ll. 15135-138.

[3] "Pety Job", ll. 663-664.

[4] "The Lessouns of the Dirige", l. 324.

[5] Chaucer, Parson's Tale, l. 178.

The modification of Job's meaning at this point from a melancholy and almost resentful criticism of life to anxiety to repent had been established earlier by Gregory who assumes that the sorrow Job asks leave to bewail is "the guilt of his sinful state",[1] and explains that God allows men to bewail when He shows them the evil things they have done and moves their hearts to feel sorry for them.[2] A stage in the conversion of Job's meaning is perhaps represented by the interlinear exposition formerly attributed to Jerome which glosses the sorrows as the punishments of sin or the sorrow of expiation (merita delictorum, sive dolorem paenarum),[3] thus making these words an admission of deserved suffering, precisely the interpretation of his suffering which Job has struggled to refute, and leading the way for an interpretation which makes these words in effect a request for sorrow equal to his guilt. In this way a passage which might have been useless for the didactic purposes of these Middle English writers was adjusted to their needs.

Much the same alteration is effected by an explanation which Gregory gives for Job's words, "As it hath pleased the Lord, so is it done" (i, 21), and which creeps into "The Boke of the Craft of Dying", where the writer says that a man should bear without complaint the suffering

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[1]Gregory, Morals, I, 564.

[2]Ibid.

[3]P.L., XXIII, 1422.

he is called on to endure in his last illness "for as seynt Gregory witnessith in his Morallys: . . . all þingis þat we suffren we suffyr ryghtfully, & þerfor we ben vnry3tfull yf we grucch of þat we suffer ri3tfully."[1] Gregory explains that all suffering is deserved on the grounds that it comes from God "to Whom nought but justice is pleasing",[2] and he then adds the remark which the Middle English writer quotes. It is possible that Job's speech in the Metrical Paraphrase which incorporates this part of the scriptural statement also incorporates something of Gregory's explanation, though it has no close verbal resemblance to either. When Job has learned of his losses, he tears his coat, rends his hair, and says,

> "lord god," . . . "mekyll is þy my3t
> amang man kynd here forto knaw,
> þat rewls all thyng be reson ry3t
> þi ryalte forto rede by raw.
> þou dos noþer be day ne ny3t
> bot dewly euynhede, os þe aw.
> þou ponysch men here for þer ply3t
> at lern þam forto luf þin law.
> þou kens me curtasly
> of my defawtes be fore.
> I wott I am worthy
> for syn to suffere more.[3]

Thus the inconsistency which was present in the Bible between the patient hero of the prologue and the far from patient Job of the central passages is intensified in the

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[1] Yorkshire Writers, II, 410.

[2] Gregory, Morals, I, 90.

[3] Metrical Paraphrase, ll. 14269-280. The speech continues with an elaboration of the Bible's "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away. As it hath pleased the Lord so is it done. Blessed be the name of the Lord."

paraphrase since in it Job concedes at the opening that his sins have merited the suffering he receives while later he is to claim vigorously that the suffering far outweighs his sin.[1]

A similar conversion of the text of the Book of Job in the Parson's Tale follows Gregory closely and cites his authority. Here the Parson adapts the Book of Job's statement that man "cometh forth like of flower, and is destroyed, and fleeth as a shadow" (xiv, 2) to urge his audience not to be negligent or slothful in confession, but to be mindful that

> oure life is in no sikernesse, and eek that alle the richnesses in the world ben in aventure, and passen as a shadwe on the wal, as seith seint Gregorie, . . . it aperteneth to the grete righwisnesse of God that never shal the peyne stynte of hem that nevere wolde withdrawen hem fro synne, hir thankes, but ay continue in synne; for thilke perpetueel wil to do synne shul they han perpetueel peyne.[2]

Gregory does not however assert this quite so boldly. He points out that if the promise of eternal damnation is only a threat, and will not be carried out even if sinners continue in their evil ways, the promise of eternal bliss must also be an empty one, since both promises were made in the same place (Matt. xxv, 46).[3] It is however from Gregory that Chaucer's Parson takes the idea that God's "righwisnesse" requires the eternal damnation of unrepent-

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[1]Metrical Paraphrase, ll. 14415-418; 14451-460; 14585-586; 14835-844; 14987-988; 14995-15000; and in a generalized fashion, 14689-700.

[2]Chaucer, Parson's Tale, ll. 1068-1069.

[3]Gregory, Morals, III, Pt. 2, 645.

ing sinners, concerning which Gregory says,

> Who can tolerate their madness, who endeavour to establish that that is not true which the Truth [Christ] has threatened concerning eternal fire, and who, while busy in declaring God to be merciful, are not ashamed to proclaim Him to be false.[1]

Other changes of interpretation which bear the stamp of exegetical influence are quite literally possible if the passages are read out of context and in the Latin of the Vulgate. Sometimes the Latin by which a Hebrew word is rendered is the nearest equivalent but carries implications not in the original. Occasionally the original meaning is still apparent if the passage is read in context but the exegetical practise of dealing with each section as a separate unit allowed greater freedom. A meaning found in the passage read thus in isolation was considered to have been intended as part of the manifold riches of the sacred page. Once discovered it became part of the storehouse of admonition.

Thus a Middle English preacher wishing to impress his people with the notion that the sinful pleasures of this world were dearly bought at the cost of eternal suffering in the next might say,

> Trewly so I am ryght aferd þat þese men þat will not turne from hure synne, to suche tyme as þat þei dye in þe stynke of hure synne, as þe holy man Iope seyþ, "Ducunt in bonis dies suos, et in puncto ad inferna descendunt."[2]

A poet might use similar language in reminding readers

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[1]Gregory, Morals, III, Pt. 2, 646.

[2]Middle English Sermons, p. 159.

that the beautiful ladies that "biforen vs weren" had indulged in pleasure at a great cost:

> Hoere lif was al wiþ gamen I-lad,
> . . . . . .
> And in a twincling of on eye
> Hoere soules weren forloren.
> ("Vbi Sount Qui Ante Nos Fuerount", ll. 8, 11-12)[1]

The meaning they give to the passage is however quite different from that which Job intended. He considered the speed with which death overtook the wicked as one of the pieces of good fortune with which they were strangely blessed (xxi, 7-15). Not for them the lingering illness which he endured or the loss of everything they held dear which he had been forced to accept. However the expression which meant "in peace" or "in tranquility" was rendered "in puncto" in the Vulgate and the neutral word "Sheol" was rendered by the highly charged word "inferna"[2] and so the exegetes were able to see that in this passage Job was speaking of a swift retribution which seemed to them the true fate of the wicked. Gregory was careful to show that the righteous were also cut off suddenly, at times, and that therefore "in a moment" referred to all human life which at its end would seem as no more than a point of time.[3] The part of his explanation reflected in the sermon however, whether borrowed or produced by the

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[1] English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century, p. 85.

[2] See Dhorme, p. 313. The context makes it apparent that Job is envious of the good fortune of the wicked, not rejoicing that retribution has overtaken them.

[3] Gregory, Morals, II, 203-204.

homilist's independent study of the text of the Bible, seems to have been that "it often happens that they that were long borne with in wickedness, are seized by sudden death, that it should not even be granted them to bewail before death the things they have done wrong."[1] Thus Job's complaint that the wicked seemed to escape all punishment became a warning to them not to let the comforts and pleasures of their present situation lull them into forgetting the fate which awaited them after death if they persisted in their wickedness.

The exegetes' interpretation of Job as a prophet of the resurrection was widely accepted. Aelfric quotes the passage which gave rise to this conception when he reports Job's words, "'Ic wat soðlice þat min Alesend leofeð, & ic on þan endenextan dæige of eorðen arise, & ic beo eft mid mine felle befangen, & ic on mine flæsce God geseo, ic sylf & nan oðer; þes hyht is on minen bosme gelegd.'"[2] In the Metrical Paraphrase this is linked with the Last Judgment in which Job is confident that he will be found as clean as the friends who now triumph over him.[3] The author of the "Pety Job" also interprets this

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[1]Gregory, Morals, II, 204.

[2]Early English Homilies, p. 127.

[3]Metrical Paraphrase, ll. 14593-608. The connection is not difficult to establish from the text of the Vulgate. There Job speaks of rising from the earth on "the last day", and tells the friends not to continue to persecute him warning, "Know ye that there is a judgment" (xix, 25 and 29). The translation however seems itself to have been influenced by the contemporary exegetical interpretation.

as a reminder of the day of doom.[1] In addition Aelfric, like the exegetes, speaks of Job as a prophet of Christ and of His church.[2]

A connection with Christ is suggested rather than established in the Metrical Paraphrase when it says,

> yf god more vengance on me take
> to make me turment on a tre,
> my ryghtwysnes sall I neuer for sake,
> þer in I hope my helpe sall be.[3]

The allusion however intensifies the strength of Job's assertion and may be due to the exegetical custom of regarding Job as a type of Christ in his innocent suffering.[4]

Exegesis also taught the Middle English writers to regard as a description of Satan the passage in which God speaks of the leviathan (xl, 20-xli, 25), although it seems that the author of the Book of Job thought of it as a real beast and intended by it to show the might of God Who could create and subdue so powerful a creature.

In a sermon we read that the fiend who bound Adam when he was free and enjoying the safety of Paradise was him "of quom is wryton in holy writt, Iob li° [sic] capitulo, 'Ipse est rex super omnes filios superbie.'"[5] The same verse is translated in the Ancrene Riwle as "he

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[1]"Pety Job", ll. 589-600.

[2]Old English Heptateuch, p. 47. See above, pp. 143-145.

[3]Metrical Paraphrase, ll. 14681-684.

[4]See above, pp. 146-151.

[5]Middle English Sermons, p. 314.

ne mei uor prude ȝet. bute biholden heie",[1] and in this limitation of the satanic range of vision the writer sees a protection for the humble since Satan's pride permits him only to look on high things.[2]

This identification had long been established. The Septuagint version is sometimes quoted as translating "leviathan" as the "apostate dragon"[3] and Origen says that it is certain that by this designation is to be understood the devil himself.[4] He also suggests that the inference that there is one who is about to destroy him (xl, 20, Septuagint) is a prophecy of Christ.[5] Jerome too identifies the leviathan with him who fell "as lightning from heaven",[6] and Augustine bases arguments on the same assumption.[7]

The other monster, behemoth (xl, 10-19), was also regarded as Satan[8] and this explains a puzzling admonition William of Shoreham makes when he urges his reader to take

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[1] Ancrene Riwle, p. 126.

[2] Ibid.

[3] See, for example, Ante-Nicene Fathers, IV, 259.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Origen, Ante-Nicene Fathers, IV, 353.

[6] Jerome, Nicene Fathers, 2nd ser., VI, 391.

[7] Augustine, Nicene Fathers, II, 213-214.

[8] Melito the Philosopher (d. c. 177 A.D.) seems to provide the earliest record of this interpretation. Discussing the operation of the Deity he says, "as in Job, in speaking of the Devil. 'He is the beginning of the ways of the Lord'" (Ante-Nicene Fathers, VIII, 761). The reference is to Job xl, 19.

to heart the commandments to love God and his neighbour,

> And folȝeþ nauȝt in þys wordle
> Þe uyle commune floude
> Þat fleuþ in-to þe fendes mouþe;
> And so seiþe iop þe gode.[1]
> ("De Decem Preceptis", ll. 341-344)

It is not "iop þe gode" but God who utters the words which lead to this strange image, saying of behemoth, "Behold, he will drink up the river, and will not wonder: and trusteth that the Jordan may run into his mouth" (xl, 18). William's reference follows the interpretation of Gregory who sees in this marvellous thirst the insatiable desire of Satan striving to satisfy itself by drinking up the souls of the damned, not only non-Christian but Christian as well since "Jordan" is a symbol for those who have made a profession of faith.[2]

In an interesting use of the passage, "Waters wear away the stones: and with inundation the ground by little and little is washed away" (xiv, 19), the Ancrene Riwle follows a long established tradition. Interpreted literally in the context of the Book of Job it is part of Job's perception that nothing in the world is enduring. To the author of the Ancrene Riwle however it is symbolic of light and secret temptations which wear away the steadfastness of the true hearts which are not aware of them.[3] This bears a resemblance to Gregory's view that the verse

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[1] The Poems of William of Shoreham, p. 97.

[2] Gregory, Morals, III, Pt. 2, 566.

[3] Ancrene Riwle, p. 98.

contains a warning against the type of temptation "which comes by little and little into the mind, and by gentle suggestions corrupts the resisting soul, and not by its excessiveness but by its importunity wastes all the powers of righteousness therein."[1] The author of the Ancrene Riwle however extends the tradition further when he finds in Job's complaint, "mine uoan awaiteden me mid tricherie & mid treisune. & strencðeden uppon me; and nes hwoa me hulpe" (xxx, 13),[2] the functioning of violent but secret temptation, and that of violent and open temptation in "heo wresten in uppon me; ase þauh ðe wal were to broken; & te ȝeten opene" (xxx, 14).[3]

Exegesis is the source of the similarity of interpretation which many Middle English authors give to Job's complaint, "The life of man upon earth is a warfare" (vii, 1). An early homilist says,

> þas þri ifon beð. Se forme is se deofel. and his igeng. Se oðer þes middennard. Se þridde is wel nieh þe cristen men. þat is his aȝon flesc. Þas þri fihteð agen elcen ileafful man alse longe se we iðese westen of þesser woruld wandrið. alse þri reafers,[4]

and explains that it is an awareness of the constant struggle in which men live which caused Job to say, "Milicia est uita hominis super terram. Cnihtscipe is

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[1]Gregory, Morals, II, 60.

[2]Ancrene Riwle, p. 98.

[3]Ibid., pp. 98-99.

[4]Old English Homilies, 1st ser., Pt. II, 241 and 243.

mannes lif upen eorðe."[1] William of Shoreham advises,

> And be thou siker þat mannes lyf
> Is riȝt a kniȝt-hod ine londe;
> And so seyþe iob, þe holy man;
> Now mote we þanne stonde
> To fiȝte:
> þe feend, þat flesch, and eke þe wordle,
> Ageins ous beþ idiȝte.[2]
> (De Septem sacramentis, ll. 344-350)

As the title suggests, "A Tretyse of Gostly Batayle" presents life as a constant struggle to achieve endless bliss and avoid endless pain and urges its readers to have in mind what "oure lorde seyth by holy Iob . . . Alle mannes lyfe vpone erthe ys but fygthynge and knygthode ayenst gostly enemyes." He adds, "These enemyes bene the fende, the worlde, and the flessh."[3] The author of the Ancrene Riwle also sees this passage as signifying the struggle to attain heaven for, quoting this passage, he says that Job bears witness that all life here is as a fight, but that if the battle here is fought well, honour and rest await men in their own land which is heaven.[4] In the Ayenbite of Inwyt the author speaks of the gifts and virtues of those that despise the world and desire the high hill of perfection, and cites this passage from Job as referring to the struggle to attain this height.[5] Aelfric links

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[1] Old English Homilies, 1st ser., Pt. II, 243. Another homily which quotes this verse attributes it to Tobit, Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century, p. 189.

[2] The Poems of William of Shoreham, p. 13.

[3] Yorkshire Writers, II, 421.

[4] Ancrene Riwle, p. 162.

[5] Ayenbite of Inwyt, p. 161.

this passage with what follows, "and his days like the days of a hireling" (vii, 1) and sees his struggle as an attempt to attain the wages of the strife, eternal bliss.[1]

Thus all these authors adjust the words by which Job expressed his view of life as a struggle against numerous miseries so that they pertain to man's eternal struggle for perfection. This interpretation is in accord with that established long before by the exegetes. An interlinear gloss dating from the time of St. Jerome explains that "militia" refers to "homines Dei dimicantes contra vitia"[2] and St. Augustine says,

> But however much you may advance in the love of God and of your neighbour, and in true piety, do not imagine, as long as you are in this life, that you are without sin, for concerning this we read in Holy Scripture: "Is not the life of man upon earth a life of temptation?"[3]

Augustine here used an Old-Latin Bible or a Septuagint as was his custom and in the former the passage reads, "Numquid non tentatio est vita humana super terram"[4] and the next verse sees the hireling as desiring not only the shade but the wages for his work.[5] Thus the idea that Job spoke, not of a struggle to endure life's countless woes,

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[1] Early English Homilies, p. 126.

[2] P.L., XXIII, 1417.

[3] Augustine, Nicene Fathers, 1st ser., I, 554.

[4] P.L., XXIX, 72 (italics mine). The modification of the meaning of the word tentatio from "attack" to "temptation" would make this particular understanding of the verse inevitable.

[5] Ibid., "mercenarius qui exspectat mercedem operis suis."

but of a strife with evil, and of a trial which would end in a sentence of heaven or hell, was established by the pre-Vulgate translations of the Bible and transmitted by exegesis into didactic literature.

Another passage for which exegesis provided a precedent for the interpretation given it by Middle English authors was "My soul is weary of my life: I will let go my speech against myself. I will speak in the bitterness of my soul. I will say to God: Do not condemn me. Tell me why thou judgest me so" (Job x, 1-2). Except for the ending it is difficult to perceive that this forms part of one of Job's most bluntly worded reproaches, not of himself, but of God. Its opening words seemed appropriate to an early homilist when he was discussing the hot tears that holy men shed because their life seems too long in this world. He explains, "swiche teres schedde iob; þe þe he þos word seide. Wa is mine saule; þet mi lif þus longe ilest."[1] In setting the words into this context the homilist is following Gregory's explanation of them for he says that they reflect the insipidness of life for those to whom the love of the Creator has become sweet.[2]

A much earlier piece of exegetical interpretation had laid the grounds for a slightly different meaning which two poets give this passage. It is thought that rabbinical rather than Christian exegesis added the words

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[1] Old English Homilies, 1st ser., p. 157.

[2] Gregory, Morals, I, 544.

"against myself" which so strongly modify the meaning of the passage as it occurs in the Vulgate. Although a corresponding expression is used in the Hebrew, the Septuagint says, "Weary in my soul, I will pour my words with groans upon him."[1] The Latin texts however, both the Vulgate and Old-Latin,[2] agree with the Hebrew and hence give rise to such interpretations as that of the "Pety Job" where the passage becomes part of an expression of distaste for a sinful life,

> Hyt forthynketh my soule y-wys,
> The lyfe that I haue lad alway:
> ffor now my speche ayenst me ys,
> Sothly my lyfe I shall dysplay.
> In sorow and in bytternesse
> Of myn oune soule, thus shall I say:
> Now, good Ihesu, kynge of blysse,
> Dampne me nat at domesday.[3]

"The Lessouns of the Dirige" gives a similar interpretation to the words when it says,

> My soul of my self anoyed isse.
> I shal leue my speche aȝens me.
> To my soul y wole speke in bitternesse,
> And y shal saye to god so fre:
> Wyl noȝt dampne me fro blisse,
> Shew me þe cause, þat wolde I se,
> Why demestou me þoȝ y dede mysse.[4]

A final group of extracts from Middle English literature represents the most imaginative treatment of the text in this tradition and forms a postscript to the

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[1] See Dhorme, p. 146.

[2] P.L., XXIX, 76.

[3] "Pety Job", ll. 85-92.

[4] "The Lessouns of the Dirige", ll. 33-39. A comma after "soul" in the printed edition has been omitted as it seems to interfere with the meaning of the verse.

consideration of exegetical influence rather than an integral part of it. Here it is the method of the exegete, not his text, which has provided the example. One such development occurs in a twelfth-century homily where Job is an illustration of those who are as prudent as serpents (Matt. x, 16). In time of danger, the homilist says, the adder protects itself by placing its body as a shield before its head in which its life resides. Job's earthly possessions are like his body's clothing and in his encounter with Satan these are yielded up first. His body is injured to such an extent that no one could have touched him even with one finger without coming into contact with a wound. This Job endures patiently however letting the devil do as he wishes with his body and thus keeping his head, which was his "rihte bileue" safe from the devil's hands.[1]

A similar inclination to read an allegorical meaning into the text occurs in Jacob's Well which finds in the statement, "He hangeth the earth upon nothing" (xxvi, 7), support for the author's contention that man's soul is based on humility. He interprets the text as meaning that God has grounded man's soul on nothing, that is humility. Man reaches this ground when he clears himself of the sin of pride because like gold, the most precious of metals, and like balm, the most precious of liquids, humility, the

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[1] Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century, pp. 195 and 197.

most precious of all virtues, is drawn to the lowest place.[1]

The refining of gold is mentioned by Job who says "he . . . has tried me as gold that is passed through the fire" (xxiii, 10) and this is for one author the beneficial fire of tribulation, which becomes a catalyst in the refining process as he continues, "And note þat amonge all metallis gold is moste preciouse, and leed is leste of price, & yet nevertheles gold is not purged with-oute leed, for leed draweth with hym in the forneis the filthes of gold."[2]

The greatest source however of examples of this use of the methods rather than the text of the exegetes is the Ancrene Riwle whose author creates from the texts he cites an entirely new level of significance. Thus it says that a life of austerity produces people who are terrible to the devil. Job was like this and drew from Satan the words "Skin for skin" (ii, 4), not meaning, as in the original, that a man will save his own skin at any cost but

> he wule ȝiuen uel uor uelle. þet olde, uor ðe neowe. and is ase þauh he seide. ne geineð me nout to asailen him; uor he is of þe tetore uolke; þet totereð his olde kurtel. & torendeð ðe olde pilche; of his deaðliche uelle. vor þet fel is undeaðlich; þet iðe neowe ariste schal schinen seoue uold brihte; þen þe sunne.[3]

The hope stored up in Job's bosom that a vindicator will

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[1] Jacob's Well, p. 235.

[2] Yorkshire Writers, II, 395.

[3] Ancrene Riwle, pp. 164-165.

one day rise up to reinstate him appears in the Ancrene Riwle with the emphasis altered to stress the need to keep secret, "laid up in one's bosom" (xix, 27), one's good deeds which constitute one's hope of heaven, lest by boasting of them the hope be dispersed and carried away with the breath of words.[1] Job's expectation in the days of his prosperity that his happiness would endure and that he would die in his nest (xxix, 18) becomes the ancorite's resolve to be as one dead in the house of his retreat and not abandon it as long as the soul remains in the body.[2] Again Job's statement in listing the attributes of God that He "made a weight for the winds" (xxviii, 25) is interpreted as meaning that God has made the flesh a weight for the soul which is thereby drawn downward. Yet, the author promises, through the nobleness of the soul, the body shall become lighter than the wind and brighter than the sun if it will obey the soul and not pull it down too strongly by its own base nature.[3] In a later passage the Latin is quoted incorrectly but has obviously been understood correctly before the author went on to develop an allegorical meaning applicable to his readers. In the original passage God asks Job if it is to him that the horse can look for its strength and courage which make it smell the battle afar off (xxxix, 25). In the Ancrene Riwle it becomes not the horse but everyman, or everywoman,

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[1] Ancrene Riwle, p. 65.

[2] Ibid., p. 59.

[3] Ibid., p. 62.

who dreads bodily evil often before it comes while that which will injure the soul is often endured without the least anxiety.

It can be seen therefore that exegesis exerted a considerable influence especially on the more intransigent passages of the Book of Job in shaping them into material which Middle English didactic writers could profitably use in their works. It provided explanations which augmented the value of passages of the book for admonition or reassurance. It forged connections between some parts of the Book of Job and other parts of the Bible and so increased the flexibility with which such excerpts could be used. It altered meanings which would have been either useless for the author's purposes or repugnant to them, and it established the practice of reading the text allegorically and so gave example for such imaginative interpretations as are made in the text of works like the Ancrene Riwle.

CHAPTER VI

THE LEGEND OF JOB

One of the puzzles which the Book of Job has set those who study it is the reputation of its hero. The patience of Job is proverbial yet, with the exception of the prologue where his meek endurance is exemplary, there is little in the book which would give rise to this view of him. Duncan B. Macdonald calls attention to Job's weakness as saint of patience when he points out that after the third chapter begins,

> the patience vanishes and Job strains the resources of the language to express his impatience . . . . We cannot in reckoning the virtues of Job put patience among them. He was utterly truthful, high-hearted, sincere, keen of insight, firm of purpose, tender of conscience--these are the characteristics by which he lives for us; but among them is not patience. We do not adduce Shylock or Timon as examples of a forgiving spirit, though they had provocation enough; nor Hamlet as an example of a mind strong to bear any burden, though his burden was heavy enough; and so, too, we cannot speak of the patience of Job.[1]

The solution to the problem, Macdonald suggests, is that Job's reputation for patience stems not from the Bible account but from a legend which tells his story somewhat differently.[2] It is to this legend, he implies, that the Epistle of St. James is referring when it says,

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[1]Macdonald, "Some External Evidence", p. 139.

[2]Macdonald, "The Original Form of the Legend of Job", pp. 66-67.

"You have heard of the patience of Job" (v, 11).[1] He suggests indeed that the legend pre-dates the Book of Job and is the source of it,[2] an assertion which, if correct, would date the legend some time prior to 400 B.C., the latest date generally considered for the composition of the Book of Job.[3]

The original legend has disappeared but the Book of Job is not the only evidence that it once existed. Legends in the Christian, Jewish and Moslem traditions have preserved details of the Job story not found in the Bible but surviving in the art and literature of the late mediaeval period. What follows is a summary of the departures from the canonical account made by the legends. The following chapter deals with the survival of details from these legends in art and in Middle English literature.

Fragments of the Job legend are to be found in several sources. The "Apocalypse of Paul",[4] a work written late in the fourth century A.D. and later translated into almost every European language, has a brief episode where Job appears and tells something of his story. The records of the Fifth General Council of the Church held at Constantinople in 553 contain portions of the works of

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[1]Macdonald, "Some External Evidence", p. 139.

[2]Macdonald, "The Original Form of the Legend of Job", pp. 67-68.

[3]Sources of information about the date of the Book of Job are given on p. 48, n. 1.

[4]James, The Apocryphal New Testament, p. 552.

Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. c. 429 A.D.) whose views were declared heretical by the council. Among the remains[1] are Theodore's remarks disparaging the Book of Job and its author, and revealing a preference for the legend which the Book of Job had replaced. Allusions to the story of Job are made in the Talmud, a collection of Jewish laws and legends preserved orally for many generations but set down in Jerusalem c. 400 A.D. and in Babylon c. 500.[2] The Koran, written in the first half of the seventh century, also contains references to Job which are clearly related to legend rather than to scripture.[3] A late thirteenth-century commentary on the Koran by al-Baydawi (d. A.H. 685) provides a few more details not drawn from the Book of Job.[4]

These sources supply only fragmentary details of the legend, but a full account of the trials of Job is given in The Testament of Job,[5] a Greek text whose date of composition is uncertain. The Decree of Pope Gelasius

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[1]Theodore of Mopsuestia, In Jobum, P.G., LXVI, 697-698.

[2]The Talmud, Baba Batra, I, 71-82. Jewish legends of Job have been collected by Ginzberg from many sources and may be found in his Legends of the Jews, II, 225-242, and notes, V, 381-390.

[3]The Koran, Sura IV, 161, Sura XXI, 83-84.

[4]Extracts in translation are given by Macdonald in his article, "Some External Evidence on the Original Form of the Legend of Job", pp. 142-144.

[5]An English translation by K. Kohler is given in Semitic Studies in Memory of Dr. Alexander Kohut, pp. 314-338. A French translation occurs in Migne's Dictionnaire des Apocryphes, II, 403-420.

(492-496) includes in a list of proscribed apocrypha, Liber qui appellatus "testamentum Iob" apocryphus,[1] but there is no proof that this is "The Testament of Job" which has survived in two manuscripts.[2] James believed that the author was saturated in the New Testament and must therefore have been a Christian. He also believed however that he was born a Jew and lived in Egypt. In consequence he dated the work not earlier than the second century A.D., but thought that it was probably based on an earlier Hebrew Midrash on Job.[3] Kohler saw no evidence of Christian influence in it and believed that itwas of pre-Christian origin.[4] Torrey, after examining the language of "The Testament", came to the conclusion that it had been translated into Greek from a semitic language, Aramaic rather than Hebrew. He therefore agreed with Kohler that itwas pre-Christian, and thought that the Aramaic original was written in the last century B.C., the Greek translation being made soon after.[5] While Torrey does not precisely say so, it may be inferred that he based his theory of the date of the Greek translation on the

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[1]Torrey, The Apocryphal Literature, p. 141.

[2]James, Apocrypha Anecdota, p. lxxii, says that the text edited by Cardinal Mai, Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collection (Rome, 1833), Pt. I, p. 180, is likely from the Vatican MS. The manuscript from which he made his edition (Apocrypha Anecdota, pp. 104-137) was Paris, 2658.

[3]James, Apocrypha Anecdota, pp. xciii-xciv.

[4]Kohler, "The Testament of Job", Jewish Encyclopedia, VII, 200-202.

[5]Torrey, pp. 142-145.

assumption that the Aramaic text shared the fate which overtook much Jewish apocryphal material of being destroyed on instructions issued from Jamnia shortly after 80 A.D.[1]

It is possible therefore that the Greek "Testament of Job" represents a very early work indeed. In that case its many similarities to the text of the Book of Job in Origen's augmentation of the original Septuagint are due to an influence from "The Testament" on the Bible rather than influence moving in the opposite direction. These similarities are pointed out by James in his study of "The Testament".[2] As it stands "The Testament" is the most complete early account of the legend of Job.

A connected account is also given in The Book of the Stories of the Prophets by ath-Tha'labi (d. c. 1036).[3] Ath-Tha'labi bases part of his story on accounts of two Moslems who had been converted from Judaism, Ka'b (d. c. 654) and Wahb (d. c. 732), whom Macdonald calls "liars of quite astonishing capabilities".[4] Another Moslem legend of Job is that called the Estoria y Recontamiento de Job,[5] a Spanish translation of an Arabic version of the story.[6]

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[1]Torrey, pp. 14-16.

[2]James, Apocrypha Anecdota, pp. lxxii-lxxix.

[3]Ath-Tha'labi, in translation, Macdonald, "Some External Evidence", pp. 145-161.

[4]Macdonald, "Some External Evidence", p. 146, n. 6.

[5]Leyendas Moriscas, I, 225-263.

[6]Stevenson, The Poem of Job, p. 81.

Among his authorities the author of this work cites Abduellah ibnu el Abbas, doubtless Ibn 'Abbas, pupil of Ka'b and founder of exegetical study of the Koran.[1] The Moorish account of which the Spanish tale is a translation can hardly however have been written before the conquest of Spain in the first quarter of the eighth century, though it may be earlier than ath-Tha'labi's eleventh-century story.

Another mediaeval source is the Targum of Job, a work which Epstein dates early in the twelfth century.[2] The Targumin were Aramaic paraphrases of scripture intended to make the Hebrew text intelligible to a congregation which no longer used that language in daily life. Most of the Targumin date back to the mid-first century but the original Targum of Job was banned in the first century because "the date of the Messiah is foretold in it."[3] The version now extant is of much later origin.

Before drawing up a composite account of the Job legend I should like to deal separately with the infor-

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[1]Macdonald, "Some External Evidence", p. 146, n. 6.

[2]Epstein, A Critical Analysis, p. 111.

[3]Ibid., pp. 106-108. A. Büchler tells the following story of its destruction in Studies in Sin and Atonement, p. 136: "R. Yose said, 'When once my father Halaftha went to see R. Gamaliel in Tiberias and found him sitting at the table of Yohanan . . . and holding the Targum of the book of Job and reading therein, my father said to him, I remember when once thy father's father, R. Gamaliel [Gamaliel I, fl. 30-60 A.D.], was standing on the stairs of the Temple Mount and they brought to him the Targum of the book of Job, he said to a builder, Sink it under a layer of building stones'; then also R. Gameliel [II] commanded and it was hidden."

mation to be gleaned from the remarks of Theodore of Mopsuestia since it is almost entirely negative consisting for the most part of objections to the Book of Job. This book, Theodore said, had spoiled a beautiful story which was in the mouths of everyone, Israelites and others. In particular he took exception to the notion of the devil as a rival to God[1] and to Job's curse on his day.[2] Some other speeches of Job, of the friends, of Eliu and of God[3] were, Theodore maintained, fabrications of a writer anxious to emulate the Greek dramatists and to show off his pagan learning.[4] He claimed that the same inappropriate regard for pagan learning had dictated the name of Job's third daughter, Amalthea's Horn,[5] as she is called in the Septuagint. On the other hand the original story, he said, gave an even clearer testimony to God than was given to the prophet Job.[6] It seems likely therefore that the story which Theodore knew omitted the encounter between God and Satan in heaven, since this might suggest a rivalry, and might also be construed as reflecting unfavourably on God.[7] It probably omitted Job's impatient speeches--

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[1] In Jobum, P.G., LXVI, 698.

[2] Ibid., 697.

[3] Ibid., 698.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., 697.

[6] Ibid., 698.

[7] It should be noted here that Macdonald ("Some External Evidence", p. 163) thinks that Theodore's objection

since Theodore said that his version would inspire others to emulate Job's virtue[1]--contained quite different speeches for the friends, and stressed the bounty of God in restoring his faithful servant to prosperity. No surviving account satisfies all these requirements and it seems likely therefore that Theodore's version was derived from a different source.

The surviving legends use a basic story similar to that of the Book of Job but augment the tradition with a rich store of details apparently designed to appeal to the love of the marvellous.

The legends increase Job's already ample possessions and increase as well the acts of benevolence which his wealth made possible. The rabbinical stories say that Job's cattle increased because they broke the general rule of nature. Normally wolves kill goats, but Job's goats killed the wolves.[2] Noting that it is strange that the oxen were plowing and in the same season the asses were feeding beside them (Job i, 14) one source accounts for it by saying that "as soon as the oxen had ploughed and the seed had been cast, the produce sprang up and the asses ate it."[3]

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does not necessarily mean that there was no encounter between God and Satan in his story but it may mean only that the words used were different.

[1] In Jobum, P.G., LXVI, 697.

[2] The Talmud, Baba Batra, 15b.

[3] Ibid., 15b-16a and n. 1.

In another account[1] Job lived in ar-Rūm and all ath-Thanīya belonged to him, and he had great wealth in camels, cattle, sheep and asses. His 500 yokes of oxen were attended by 500 slaves, each with wife, children and wealth. Such indeed was Job's wealth that the three friends estimated that if all their possessions were assembled together they would not equal the precious stones of Job's kingdom.[2]

He was a very generous and hospitable man, and very kind to the poor. He made the widow's heart rejoice (cf. Job xxix, 13) by associating his name with her, either as a relative or as a suitor. This enabled her soon to find a husband.[3] The orphans blessed him because he used to rob them of a field, improve it and then restore it to them.[4] Whenever anyone received even a small coin from him, it became a blessing and brought him good luck.[5]

Job's wealth made possible prodigious feats of generosity. The wool from 7,000 sheep clothed the poor, nine mills (or mules) worked to produce goods for the poor and sick, the offspring of 500 asses were sold to provide alms.[6] The doors of Job's house stood open to those in

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[1]Ath-Tha'Labi, pp. 145-146.

[2]"The Testament", p. 326.

[3]The Talmud, Baba Batra, 16a and n. 7.

[4]Ibid., 16a.

[5]Ibid., 15b.

[6]"The Testament", p. 317.

need and within it thirty tables were set for strangers, twelve for widows.[1] To supply these tables 500 yoke of oxen ploughed the fields and fifty bakeries made bread. Those who wished to wait on table to aid in the service to the poor were paid for the work they did.[2] Those whose trading expeditions Job financed were released from their debt if things went badly.[3]

Although Job was kind to his servants they were occasionally difficult. Sometimes they grew weary of cutting up meat for the poor and said, "Oh that we had of his flesh that we could be satisfied."[4] Job hired musicians to play to the poor while they ate and to remind them to give praise to the Lord. These musicians grumbled when they grew weary and then Job would take up their instruments himself and play.[5]

It was another of his customs to offer sacrifices on behalf of his children in case they had said, "We are the children of this rich man. Ours are all these goods; why should we be servants of the poor?"[6]

Various causes are alleged for the sufferings that came upon this good man. "The Testament" says that when

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[1] "The Testament", p. 318.

[2] Ibid., p. 319.

[3] Ibid., pp. 318-319.

[4] Ibid., p. 319.

[5] Ibid., pp. 319-320.

[6] Ibid., p. 320.

it was revealed to him by an archangel that the idol worshipped in his country was Satan, he asked permission to destroy the idol and purify the spot. Permission was granted but Job was warned that such action would arouse the malice of Satan who would then bring plagues on him and take away his children and everything he possessed. He must wrestle like an athlete and endure pain, but was assured that his name would be renowned throughout all generations, and eventually his possessions would be restored double, he would put on a crown of amaranth and in the resurrection awaken to eternal life.[1]

The destruction of the idol carried out, Job returned to wait behind locked doors for the assaults of the devil. He instructed his servants not to admit visitors and when Satan came disguised as a beggar he was turned away. He came again with a begging basket and asked for bread. Job sent burnt bread to him with the message, "Expect not to eat of my bread, for it is forbidden to thee." Ashamed to offer the burnt bread, and unaware that the beggar was Satan, the maid substituted fine bread. Satan knew what had happened and rebuked the servant for disobedience. When she brought the burnt bread, as he bade, Satan sent Job the message that his body would be made like it. Job defied him to do his worst and Satan went to heaven to be granted power over all Job's possessions.[2]

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[1]"The Testament", pp. 314-315.

[2]Ibid., pp. 316-317.

Another account[1] of the trials of Job attributes them to celestial politics. It reports that after Muhammad's time, Iblis (Satan) was excluded from all seven heavens, but before that time he had had access to three of them, having been excluded from the other four in the time of 'Isà (Jesus). In Job's time Iblis went about heaven whenever he wished, and on one such visit he heard the chain of blessings which descended upon Job. By this chain commendation by God was caught up by Jibrīl, from him to Mīkā'īl and then to the archangels and those who circle the Empyreal Throne. Filled with envy when he heard the praise and benediction of the heavenly host on Job, Iblis insinuated to God that Job would renounce Him if he were molested.

Some say however that Job's love of husbandry was the cause of his downfall,[2] for leprosy was inflicted on those who devoted their lives to the acquisition of possessions.[3] Job however prided himself on the very thing for which he was condemned, for he was astonished that he was reduced to poverty since he had always observed the agricultural laws.[4]

Other causes of Job's sufferings depend on his being a contemporary of Moses. One says that it was Job who

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[1]Ath-Tha'labi, pp. 146-147.

[2]Ginzberg, VI, 358.

[3]Ibid., V, 141.

[4]Ibid., 383.

advised Pharaoh to kill all male babies, or have them killed by the Hebrew midwives, as a means of stopping the increase in the numbers of Israelites in Egypt.[1] Another account tells that when Reuel the Midianite told Pharaoh that he should stop destroying the children of Israel Job said, "Behold, all the inhabitants of the land are in thy power. Let the king do as seemeth good in his eyes."[2] Another story implicates him in the slaughter of children. In it Job is said to have been punished by a year's suffering for holding his tongue when Balaam made the suggestion that Pharaoh, stricken with leprosy, would be healed only if he would slaughter Israelitish children and bathe in their blood. Job disapproved, but had not the courage to protest.[3]

Another story attached to the tradition that Job lived during the Exodus from Egypt is more favourable to him. It says that at the time when God was leading His people out of Egypt, Samael, the accusing angel later to be equated with Satan, constantly troubled God with his accusations against the children of Israel. He said that they were idol-worshippers and wondered why God should divide the sea for such people. Tormented by Samael, God adopted the tactics of a shepherd who attempts to get his sheep to safety when a wolf is troubling them. As the

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[1]Ginzberg, II, 250-251.

[2]Ibid., 255.

[3]Ibid., 296.

shepherd surrenders a he-goat to fight with the wolf, and returns later to rescue it when the rest of the flock is safe, so God surrendered Job to Samael, saying, "While he is busily occupied with Job, Israel will go through the sea! Afterwards, I will deliver Job."[1]

Al-Baydāwi says that disease was laid on Job either because of what he did at Satan's suggestion, "infatuated by the greatness of his wealth", or because he refused aid to someone who was wronged, or because he flattered an unbelieving king so that he would not make plundering expeditions on his cattle which were in the king's neighbourhood.[2]

Satan's role varies in the rabbinical stories, partly because of the changing character of Satan in religious thought through the centuries. In early biblical times, as the Jewish Encyclopedia reports,[3] "satan" was not the name of an individual, but the name of a class of angels whose duty it was to accuse men before the judgment seat of God. An evil force, independent of God, was quite repugnant to the strict monotheism of the Jewish faith, and any independence which Satan later obtained was probably due to Zoroastrian influence. At the time when the Book of Job was written Satan was regarded as

> that member of the divine council who watches over human activity, but with the evil purpose of searching

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[1]The Midrash, III, 269.

[2]Macdonald, "Some External Evidence", p. 143.

[3]Blau, "Satan", Jewish Encyclopedia, XI, 68-70.

> out men's sins and appearing as their accuser. He is, therefore, the celestial prosecutor, who sees only iniquity; for he persists in his evil opinion of Job even after the man of Uz has passed successfully through his first trial by surrendering to the will of God.[1]

From their position as servants of God, the satans, of whom Samael was lord, rose in independence, but also fell from a recognized, if feared, authority to the role of the hated foe of God. The legend of Job reflected these theological changes. It is a measure of the close connection between the legendary and theological careers of Job and Satan that Satan's fall was considered a punishment for his conduct towards Job.[2]

In some of the rabbinical commentaries Satan does not appear in an unfavourable light. According to one story about Satan's appearance in the court of heaven, his answer to God's question where he had been was that he had traversed the whole world and found no man so faithful as God's servant Abraham. God's reply was that of the Bible, "Hast thou considered my servant Job, that there is none like him in the earth, a simple and upright man, and fearing God, and avoiding evil?" (Job i, 8). When Satan saw that God was so much inclined to favour Job he said, "Far be it that God should forget the love of Abraham", and Rabbi Levi, who advanced this theory of the cause of Job's affliction, pointed out that this showed Satan's pious

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[1]Blau, "Satan", Jewish Encyclopedia, XI, 68.

[2]Ginzberg, V, 85-86 (cf. II, 242).

purpose in acting as an adversary.[1]

Sympathy for Satan is expressed also by Rabbi Isaac in the same source. When God says to Satan, "Behold, he is in thy hand; but yet save his life" (Job ii, 6), Rabbi Isaac comments, "Satan's torment was worse than that of Job; he was like a servant who is told by his master 'Break the cask but do not let any of the wine spill.'"[2]

Job's sufferings at the hands of Satan follow the familiar pattern of loss of possessions, children and health but the legends add many details not found in scripture.

Versions of the story which hold that Job's sufferings were the reward of some evil action include among his afflictions an assault made on him by Lilith, the Queen of Sheba. Job is then living in the village of Karnaim but because of the sins of his sons a heavenly decree goes out in response to which the Queen sets out at once with her armies. It takes her three years to traverse the great distance between Sheba and Palestine but when she arrives her troops fall on the men caring for Job's oxen and asses, slay all but one of the men and seize the animals. The lone survivor has time only to reach Job with his bad news and utter it before he drops dead of his wounds.[3]

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[1]The Talmud, Baba Batra, 16a.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ginzberg, II, 233-234, and V, 385-386, nn. 20 and 21.

In "The Testament", not only Job's enemies but also those who have received his charity seize his herds.[1] Satan assumes the guise of the King of Persia to besiege Job's city and alienate his people. The latter are at first afraid to attack Job for fear his children will avenge him, but Satan removes this obstacle by killing the children.[2] Job is unmoved by the loss of possessions but shakes with terror at the loss of his children and tears his clothes saying, "The Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken. As it hath seemed best to the Lord, thus it hath come to be. May the name of the Lord be blessed."[3]

The Moslem stories launch against Job a company of devils one of whom converts himself into a whirlwind of fire,[4] another into a parching wind.[5] Another utters a shout which kills everyone who hears it.[6] As a result all Job's possessions are lost.[7] Satan himself brings news of the disasters.[8] When, disguised as their teacher, he brings word of the death of Job's children Job weeps and puts dust on his head. Satan does not wait but hurries

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[1]"The Testament", p. 320.

[2]Ibid., pp. 320-321.

[3]Ibid., p. 321.

[4]Ath-Tha'labi, p. 147.

[5]Ibid., p. 148.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid., pp. 147-149.

[8]Ibid., pp. 147-148.

rejoicing to heaven with news of this impatience. However Job immediately repents of his impatience, and his angel bears his penitence to heaven so swiftly that it reaches God before Satan can bring his report[1] and so Job is again the victor.

In one story Satan, disguised as a herdsman, suggests to Job that the circumstance that the fire which consumed his camels came from heaven will make people suspect that his God is nothing, or at least cannot reward faithful service, or is even the source of his sufferings. To this Job replies,

> If God had known good in thee, O creature! He had taken thy soul along with these souls [those of the other herdsmen], and made thee a martyr along with these martyrs. But He knew evil in thee, and left thee, and separated thee from trial like as the tares are separated from the pure wheat.[2]

Another similar account has Gabriel, who has been sent by Allah, toss Satan into the fire with one flip of his wing.[3]

The Moorish story tells how Iblis (Satan) is advised to attack Job through his wife and goes to her in the form of a traveller, asking for the food and shelter such men were accustomed to receiving from Job. She explains that they have now nothing to share, but the traveller says Job has only to abjure Allah and everything will be restored to him. When Job sends back word by his

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[1]Ath-Tha'labi, p. 149.

[2]Ibid., p. 148.

[3]Leyendas Moriscas, I, 233.

wife that earthly possessions are vain, Satan is crushed and creeps sadly back to heaven for power over Job's body. Allah reserves only Job's tongue and eyes, and his wife because she is his help and sustainer with Allah's aid.[1] Another account preserves Job's tongue, his heart and his reason.[2]

Various details are added to the grievous illness which then strikes Job. In "The Testament" Job's patience is so great under this affliction that if a single worm creeps off his disease-ridden body he puts it back saying, "Remain on the spot where thou hast been placed until He who sent thee will order thee elsewhere",[3] or, "Eat, for God hath made me thy food."[4] In the "Apocalypse of Paul" Job says that he had a plague for thirty years and describes in detail how "in the beginning the blains that came forth of my body were as grains of wheat; but on the third day they became like an ass's foot, and the worms that fell from them were four fingers long."[5] Satan urges him to speak a word against the Lord, and die, but Job replies,

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[1] Leyendas Moriscas, I, 236-238.

[2] Ath-Tha'labi, p. 149. A detail supplied by Wahb says that the worms do attack Job's heart and tongue with the result that he dreads lest he should be rendered incapable of pronouncing the name of God and of thought. Ath-Tha'labi, p. 159.

[3] "The Testament", p. 322.

[4] Ath-Tha'labi, p. 159. A similar statement occurs in Leyendas Moriscas, p. 241.

[5] James, Apocryphal New Testament, p. 552.

> If thus be the will of God that I continue in the plague all the time of my life until I die, I will not rest from blessing the Lord God, and I shall receive the greater reward. For I know that the sufferings of this world are nought compared with the refreshment that is hereafter.[1]

When Iblis is the aggressor he breathes into Job's nostrils and at once he is filled with sores which consume his flesh and smell so badly that the town's folk thrust him out onto a rubbish heap where only his wife Rahma comes to wait on him.[2] The Moorish account extends the activities of Iblis in this regard to seven successive days. On the first day he is scorched to the colour of fire from his feet to his throat, on the second, to black, on the third filled with smallpox sores, and so it continues until only his eyes and his tongue remain whole, his hair fallen out, his body consumed with worms. Still Job's praises ascend to Allah, still his wife tends him solicitously.[3]

In the legends the role of Job's wife is greatly augmented. She acquires a name--Sitis in "The Testament", Rahma in the Moslem accounts--and is shown to be devoted to her unfortunate spouse. While she still commits some offence which incurs Job's righteous anger, she also performs great feats of fidelity and endurance. In some stories she survives to enjoy with Job the rewards of virtue, in others she dies and it is another wife who pro-

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[1]James, Apocryphal New Testament, p. 552.

[2]Ath-Tha'labi, p. 150.

[3]Leyendas Moriscas, I, 238-240.

vides the ten new children in whom Job rejoices in his old age.

The gently-reared Sitis of the "Testament" works for seven years as a water-carrier to earn bread for herself and her husband. When her harsh employers reduce her wages to food for herself alone, she shares this little with Job and then goes to the market to beg for more. The bread-seller (Satan in disguise)[1] offers her three days' supply of bread in exchange for her hair and, as she later tells Job, she yields to the wrong[2] and allows him to cut it off. It is the mockery of those who pass while this shearing takes place in the open market-place which crushes her spirit and causes her to say to Job,

> Job! Job! how long wilt thou sit upon the dung-hill outside of the city, pondering yet for a while and expecting to obtain your hoped-for salvation! And I have been wandering from place to place roaming about as a hired servant, behold thy memory has already died away from earth. And my sons and the daughters that I carried on my bosom and the labors and pains that I sustained have been for nothing? And thou sittest in the maladorous state of soreness and worms, passing the nights in the cold air.[3]

She goes on to repeat the song of mockery of those who saw her hair being cut and finishes

> After the many things that have been said to me, I now say in one word to thee: Since the feebleness of my heart has crushed my bones, rise then and take these loaves of bread and enjoy them, and then speak some word against the Lord and die![4]

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[1] "The Testament", pp. 322-323.

[2] Ibid., p. 324.

[3] Ibid. The similarity of this passage to the Septuagint and to Jerome's Latin translation of it has been noted. See p. 63.

[4] Ibid., p. 324.

Job's reply expands that of the Bible, and he also recognizes Satan hiding behind Sitis and scorns him for the tactics he is using, which he suggests are more worthy of a weasel than a lion.[1]

In the Moslem accounts, in which she is called Rahma, she incurs Job's anger by other means. Usually she encounters a stranger (Satan in disguise) who reminds her of her former prosperity and of the former beauty of Job now lost[2] and succeeds in getting her to urge Job to abjure Allah,[3] to sacrifice a kid to the enemy of God and find rest,[4] or to eat food over which the name of God has not been pronounced,[5] or, and this time the stranger is Satan disguised as a famous physician from Syria, to kill a bird without mentioning the name of Allah, anoint Job's feet with its fat mixed with pork-fat and drink the medicine which the physician has brought mixed with a little pure wine.[6] In each case Job recognizes that the instigator is the devil and promises that when he is cured he will beat his wife with one hundred strokes.[7] In one instance the threat of a beating is provoked because Job's

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[1]"The Testament", p. 325.

[2]Ath-Tha'labi, p. 157.

[3]Leyendas Moriscas, I, 235-237.

[4]Ath-Tha'labi, p. 157.

[5]Ibid., p. 159.

[6]Leyendas Moriscas, I, 244-247.

[7]Ath-Tha'labi, p. 159; Leyendas Moriscas, I, 247.

wife, here called Liya bint Ya'qub, went away for some purpose and delayed her return.[1]

Sitis, the wife in "The Testament", does not survive to see the restored prosperity. Her death occurs at the time of the arrival of Job's friends. She comes back from her work just after they have recognized Job and Eliphaz, remembering her splendour on former visits, is shocked at her rags and throws his purple mantle about her. She asks that the kings give a decent burial to her children who are still lying in the rubble of the house which fell on them, but Job forbids this saying that the children will not be found there because they are in the keeping of their Maker. The kings think him mad but in a vision he shows them his children "with crowns near the glory of the King, the Ruler of heaven."[2] Sitis too sees the vision and is satisfied. That evening she lies down in the cattle shed and dies. She is buried near her children and the poor of the city mourn for her saying, "Behold this Sitis whose like in nobility and in glory is not found in any woman. Alas! she was not found worthy of a proper tomb!"[3]

As Rahma her fate is less bitter but she suffers many things before she enjoys a return to prosperity. She labours for food but when Job's trial continues for a long

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[1]Al-Baydāwi, in Macdonald, "Some External Evidence", p. 144.

[2]"The Testament", p. 331.

[3]Ibid., p. 332.

time the people grow weary of her and no one wishes to employ her.[1] In another account the physician from Syria stirs up trouble for her by suggesting that Job's illness is infectious. First the people thrust Job out of town, then they chase Rahma away when she enters the town to beg.[2] Job suggests that she too would like to leave him but she embraces and kisses him. Finally she carries him on her back to a city among the Israelites who at first are amazed at her beauty and allow her to bake their bread to earn food and lend her a spade with which to build a shelter for her husband. The devil however adopts his familiar disguise as the sage from Syria and again she is turned out.[3]

Rahma is away when Job is cured and she returns to find him missing. She asks a beautiful stranger who is there in his place what has become of the afflicted one and after the stranger has teased her a little she realizes that he resembles Job as he had looked in the days of his health.[4] In the Spanish story she cannot find her husband and bewails him pitifully thinking that a wild beast has eaten him. Finally the angel Gabriel prompts Job to take pity on her and reveal himself to her.[5]

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[1]Ath-Tha'labi, p. 159.

[2]Leyendas Moriscas, I, 248-249.

[3]Ibid., 249-254.

[4]Ath-Tha'labi, p. 158.

[5]Leyendas Moriscas, I, 260-261.

The threatened beating which would have marred all these accounts had it been carried out is converted at the suggestion of God into one blow with a bundle of one hundred reeds,[1] and Rahma embraces Job and does not "cease embracing him until there had come to them all that had been theirs, of wealth and children."[2]

Job's comforters are often less important in the legends than they are in the Book of Job, and seldom do anything in the least commendable. At best they add to Job's troubles with their reproaches, at worst they ally themselves with Satan and aid his attempts at Job's overthrow.

In "The Testament" there are four friends whose names are Eliphaz King of Teman, Baldad, Sophar and Elihu.[3] They arrive with their armies[4] and have difficulty locating Job because they are looking for a king and find instead an impoverished man who has been lodged on a dunghill for the past seven years. They fall stunned at the sight of Job and lie as if dead for three hours. Seven days pass before Elihu suggests that they approach and examine him carefully to be sure that he is Job. However, before they can cross the last half mile which separates them from him, they have to wait for their soldiers to

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[1]Ath-Tha'labi, p. 159; and Leyendas Moriscas, I, 262.

[2]Ath-Tha'labi, p. 155.

[3]"The Testament", p. 326.

[4]Ibid., pp. 327-329.

perfume the ground so they can approach his malodorous body.[1] Assured that it is Job they lament his misfortunes but become angry when Job explains that he has a throne of imperishable splendour in a kingdom which will last forever.[2]

Angered by an arrogance so unbecoming to Job's condition, Eliphaz suggests that they all return to their own countries, and in great fury says, "We have indeed come to comfort him, but he declares war to us in view of our armies."[3] Baldad reminds him of Job's great miseries which must have deranged his mind. He then agrees with Job that earthly things are unstable, while heaven is in a state of calmness, but is astonished when Job claims that his hope is set in God and yet states that his afflictions are from Him. No king would so disgrace a loyal soldier, Baldad suggests. Job says it is impossible to understand the depth of the Lord, and, pressed further, refuses to betray the mysteries of God.[4] Sophar then offers the help of their physicians, but Job replies, "My cure and my restoration cometh from God, the Maker of physicians."[5]

The friends stay for twenty-seven days, telling Job that he suffers deservedly, having committed many

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[1]"The Testament", pp. 326-327.

[2]Ibid., pp. 327-328.

[3]Ibid., p. 329.

[4]Ibid., pp. 329-330.

[5]Ibid., p. 330.

sins. When he denies this they are ready to depart in anger but Elihu gets them to stay while he attacks Job's pride in claiming a throne in heaven and tells him the cause of his destiny in words which are not recorded.[1] God appears and blames Elihu for having spoken not like a man, but like a wild beast. The other friends are also rebuked for not having spoken the truth "concerning my servant Job" and are forgiven only when Job makes sacrifice for them. Then Eliphaz sings a hymn, rejoicing that he and Baldad and Sophar have been forgiven, but rejoicing rather more that Elihu has not, and that he has no remembrance among the living.[2]

In ath-Tha'labi's account an unnamed youth who, like Elihu, is "little of years",[3] is the kind member of the group. The others urge Job to repent of the sins for which he is being punished but the young man reminds them that Job is "the Prophet of God and His beloved and His elect and His chosen one of the people of the earth in this very day."[4] God tries martyrs and saints in this way and in any case it is not seemly for the wise man that he should censure his brother in time of trial.[5]

In the Moorish story there are only two friends, who are incited by the devil to trap Job into eating

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[1]"The Testament", pp. 332-333.

[2]Ibid., pp. 333-334.

[3]Ath-Tha'labi, p. 150.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid., pp. 150-151.

forbidden food.[1] They offer him food and drink but although Job has not eaten for three days he refuses it saying that their food is forbidden to him.[2]

No judgment falls on the friends in the Moorish story and ath-Tha'labi's account only requires Job to make "an offering for thy companions and ask pardon for them; for they have been rebellious against Me [God] in regard to thee."[3]

Job is rebuked in ath-Tha'labi's account in a manner somewhat similar to that found in the Bible.[4] He acknowledges the discrepancy between God's powers and his own and asks forgiveness for his presumption, and this is readily granted.[5]

In the Jewish tradition almost all the Rabbis agree that Satan succeeded in his efforts to get Job to blaspheme. One of his harshest critics, Rab, says that "dust should be placed in the mouth of Job" as a servant who argues with his master.[6] Among other offences, Job denied the resurrection of the dead, and blasphemed in mentioning a tempest (Job ix, 17) for which reason he was answered with a tempest. His words here are taken to

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[1] Leyendas Moriscas, I, 242.

[2] Ibid., 243-244.

[3] Ath-Tha'labi, p. 155.

[4] Ibid., pp. 153-154 (cf. Job xxxviii-xli).

[5] Ibid., pp. 154-155.

[6] The Talmud, Baba Batra, 16a.

mean, "Perhaps a tempest has passed before thee [God], and caused thee to confuse Iyob [Job] and Oyeb [enemy]." For answer, God explains to him the intricacies involved in running the universe and ends each example by saying, "I do not confuse one groove [hair follicle] with another; and shall I then confuse Iyob with Oyeb?", or "I do not confuse one thunderclap with another, and shall I confuse Iyob with Oyeb?"[1] The only excuse that can be made for him is that "a man is not held responsible for what he says when in distress."[2]

Job's restoration is based, in the Moslem tradition, on a passage in the Koran which reads,

> Remember our servant Job when he cried to his Lord, "Satan hath laid on me disease and pain." "Stamp," said We, "with thy foot. This is a place to wash in, cool, and a beverage." And We gave him back his family, and as many more with them, in Our mercy; and as a monition to men of understanding.[3]

The Moorish story has a slight variant on this for in it Gabriel carries Job to Mount Sinai and there throws him into a fountain from which Job emerges as resplendent as the full moon, as sound in health as he had first been.[4]

Elsewhere Job obeys the order and when he stamps he is cured[5] or a fountain springs forth[6] or two fountains

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[1]The Talmud, Baba Batra, 16a-16b.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Koran (Rodwell translation), Sura, XXI, 83.

[4]Leyendas Moriscas, I, 258-259.

[5]Ath-Tha'labi, p. 156.

[6]Ibid., p. 155.

spring forth.[1] Job bathes and drinks and is restored to health and beauty.[2]

In "The Testament" Job's cure is effected by God's command, "Rise and gird up thy loins like a man. I will demand of thee and declare thou unto me."[3] Job is handed three strings with which to gird himself and when he wraps them about his loins worms and plagues leave him and his bodily strength returns.[4] These girdles he later bequeaths to his daughters and when they put them on, their hearts are transformed and they have no care for earthly possessions. Yemima sings angelic praise while dancing, Kassia sings a doxology in the language of the rulers of heaven and Amalthea's Horn sings the praises of the Ruler of the cosmic powers in the language of the Cherubim.[5]

The Rabbis do not necessarily interpret the verse of the Book of Job, "The Lord blessed the latter end of Job more than his beginning", to mean that he is richer than at first, but say that "Job's blessing consisted in his having repented of his reflections on God's judgment which he had expressed in former days."[6]

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[1]Ath-Tha'labi, p. 158.

[2]Ibid., pp. 155 and 158.

[3]"The Testament", p. 336.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid., pp. 336-337.

[6]Rapaport, Tales and Maxims, p. 164.

The legends which include the restoration to wealth in their story give different accounts of the manner in which this is done. "The Testament" says that Job is eager to resume his benevolence to the poor once his health is improved and asks each of his friends to give him a lamb and four drachmas of silver or gold. The Lord multiplies these gifts and in a few days he has double what he had in the beginning.[1] He marries Dinah,[2] since Sitis has died during his affliction, and ten children are born to them.[3] Ibn'Abbas says that Job had two threshing floors and that God sent over them two clouds from which a shower of gold poured onto one threshing floor and a shower of silver onto the other.[4] He also reports another tradition, that God rained locusts of gold on Job who began to gather them in his robe. Seeing this God objects, "O Ayyub [Job]! do I not suffice thee in the stead of what thou seest?"[5] To this the shrewd prophet replies, "Yea, O my Lord! but I am dependent on Thy bounty and sustenance and compassion, and who can be satiated of Thy favor?"[6] In the Spanish Moroccan tale Job is enriched by a shower of golden dishes. It is Gabriel who objects when

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[1]"The Testament", pp. 334-335.

[2]Ibid., p. 314.

[3]Ibid., p. 336.

[4]Ath-Tha'labi, p. 156.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid.

Job begins to gather up these vessels and to whom Job replies that he gathers in those lawful things which God has given him.[1]

Such is the variety of detail which the legends add to the story of Job, details which possessed sufficient vigour to appear again and again in the works of art and literature which dealt with the suffering of Job.

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[1] Leyendes Moriscas, I, 259.

CHAPTER VII

LEGEND ELEMENTS IN MIDDLE ENGLISH LITERATURE

Although none of the legends discussed in the last chapter is to be found in its entirety in Middle English literature, details in them bear a resemblance to some of the incidents which make up the total picture of Job's story which the English works present. There is little evidence of direct influence, but it seems possible that an oral tradition which existed before these written accounts came into being persisted over the centuries and carried ideas about Job's trials across the continent, and ultimately across the English Channel.

It is not strange that features of the legends should have survived in this fashion. In contrast with the profoundly philosophic nature of the Book of Job the legends were simple tales abounding in marvels and action. They therefore provided material for audiences popular rather than profound, and for people who desired stories which would engage their interest rather than ideas which might disturb their faith. To such audiences many of the works dealing with Job's story were addressed and their authors wove into them such details of folk-lore as they knew.

Not all non-scriptural incidents in the literature are due to the oriental legends. While some are so similar that a common source seems probable, others may represent either a development which the legend has undergone in the course of transmission, or the invention of an author who took the Book of Job as his source but required something more dramatic than the Book of Job provided. Still other details may have developed through the misunderstanding of symbols which originated in legend or in scripture but took on a different meaning as the story passed from mouth to mouth.

Art serves to illustrate how difficult it is to distinguish which of these causes has been operating to produce a given detail. By its nature art tends to simplify its material, arresting the events in a series of pageants, or presenting its viewer with a single telling incident which calls to mind the rest of the story. The most frequent way of doing this for Job was to depict him on a dunghill, naked and covered with sores. So far the picture is entirely scriptural but when other details are added the artist's imagination turns to legend, or seems to have done so since it has produced ideas similar to those in the surviving accounts of the legend. For example in an illustration in a tenth- or eleventh-century manuscript Job's three friends approach him with troops of soldiers behind them.[1] The Bible makes no mention of this

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[1] Das Alte Testament im Bilde, p. 756. (Vatican MS Cod. vat. reg. greco, I, f. 461.)

escort but in the Septuagint the friends are called kings and it might well occur to the artist to use these supporting troops to indicate their dignity. On the other hand the notion that they were accompanied by soldiers might have come from some source like "The Testament of Job" where soldiers come with the friends[1] and Eliphaz makes reference to them. Job has just turned aside the friends' comfort on his losses saying that he has an imperishable throne in heaven. To Eliphaz this is tantamount to declaring war on them, and he is the more indignant since their armies are in sight.[2] An illustration in the thirteenth-century Bible Moralisée presents a similar problem. Here Satan is pictured as affecting Job with the grievous ulcer by breathing on him.[3] Has the artist contrived this as a graphic illustration of the Bible, due allowance being made for the growth of traditions in iconography, or has this detail entered the Job story from some source like ath-Tha'labi's Book of the Stories of the Prophets where Iblis blows into Job's nostrils and so covers him with ulcers,[4] or the Estoria where he blows on

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[1]"The Testament", p. 327.

[2]Ibid., p. 329. The words of Eliphaz are ambiguous. He says, "We have indeed come to comfort him, but he declares war to us in view of our armies." This could mean that Job's rashness is the greater since the friends can speedily avenge any insult, or that the insult is the greater since it is administered in the presence of their troops.

[3]Bible moralisée illustratée, plate 208.

[4]Ath-Tha'labi, p. 150.

Job for seven successive days with progressively dire results?[1] The source of an illustration in a seventh- or eighth-century manuscript of the Book of Job is similarly obscure. In it a bearded man with an elaborate headdress is followed by three girls. All are splendidly dressed and have their right hands on their chest.[2] This may be intended to represent the restored prosperity of Job, and the daughters who were born to him at that time. However the artist may have in his mind as well the gift of seeing heavenly sights which Job bequeathed to his daughters in "The Testament" when he gave them the strands of the girdle by which his cure was effected.[3]

Sometimes a reference in the Church Fathers seems to suggest contact with one of the legends. In these cases an extravagant development of some passage of the Bible might have produced the detail which by coincidence resembles legend material. Thus when John Chrysostom praises Job because he does not even ask, "Why is it that this hath happened? The flocks are consumed from which thousands of the poor were supported",[4] he could have culled this idea of lavish charity from Job's claim, "I had delivered the poor man that cried out; and the father-

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[1] Leyendas Moriscas, I, 238-239.

[2] Leclercq, Dictionnaire d'archéologie, VII, pt. 2, 2566, fig. 6279 (MS National Library, Naples, IB 18, f. 4^{v}).

[3] "The Testament", pp. 335-337.

[4] Chrysostom, Nicene Fathers, 1st ser., IX, 341.

less, that had no helper. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me: and I comforted the heart of the widow" (xxix, 12-13). More specifically, the idea might have come from Job's rejection of mercy if it could be said that the poor man's sides had not blessed him, and if he had not been warmed with the fleece of Job's sheep (xxxi, 20). Yet Chrysostom's mention of thousands of the poor being supported by Job's flocks recalls the language of "The Testament" when it says, "For I had one hundred and thirty thousand sheep, and of these I separated seven thousand [Job's entire flock in scripture] for the clothing of orphans and widows and of needy and sick ones."[1] This might be regarded as coincidence were it not for other similarities in Chrysostom's writings. He sees Job as a wrestler stripping for conflict with a foe when he is stripped of his possessions for his struggle with Satan.[2] This suggests a connection with "The Testament" where the angel warns Job, "thou must wrestle like an athlete",[3] rather than with the words of the Lord in scripture, "Gird up thy loins like a man" (xxxviii, 3). In another place Chrysostom says that Satan slandered Job to God, which is scriptural, but adds that he also "slandered God again to man saying 'Fire fell from heaven and burnt up the sheep'".[4] In the Bible these are the words of the sole

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[1]"The Testament", p. 317.

[2]Chrysostom, Nicene Fathers, 1st ser., IX, 339.

[3]"The Testament", p. 315.

[4]Chrysostom, Nicene Fathers, 1st ser., IX, 187.

surviving shepherd. In the Book of the Stories of the Prophets however the messenger is Satan (Iblīs) disguised as one of Job's servants,[1] and Chrysostom's claim that Satan thus slanders God suggests that he too saw the messenger as Satan in disguise. It would seem that there was a common stock of legend from which Chrysostom, ath-Tha'labi and the author of "The Testament" drew their ideas.

The problem of detecting the source of some details is further complicated by the additions the Job story acquired as the Middle Ages advanced. Some new ideas seem to have developed from pictorial representations of Job's condition. One such idea is connected with the destruction of his possessions. In many paintings this was symbolized by showing Job in the foreground reclining on his dunghill while behind him buildings were consumed by flames. This occurs in a late fifteenth-century Franconian engraving of Job with his wife, three musicians and two plague victims,[2] a sixteenth-century illumination by Albrecht Glockenton the Younger in the Book of Hours of William IV of Bavaria,[3] an engraving of the monogramist "hos" in the Ashmonlean Museum, Oxford,[4] and in a sixteenth-century painting by Bernard Van Orley.[5]

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[1]Ath-Tha'labi, pp. 147-148.

[2]Denis, "Saint Job, patron des musiciens", Plate IV, p. 265.

[3]Ibid., Plate VI, p. 268.

[4]Ibid., Plate XII, p. 277.

[5]Ibid., Plate XIV, p. 282.

The idea penetrated into literature so that the Knight of La Tour-Landry says that Job lost his sons and daughters, cattle and wealth, and "all his faire duellinge places ybrent".[1] It is possible too that the imposing appearance of the buildings which form the background of such paintings led the author of "Thank God of all" to include among Job's possessions, "toun and tour, and steede in stal".[2] Thus details initiated in one medium may have reappeared in a slightly altered form in another.

The legend-making faculty also enabled a symbol which occurs in one painting to change its significance over the course of time. An example of this is to be found in the stick carried by Job's wife. In one or two paintings of Job's original prosperity he is shown seated on a throne, and his wife's participation in this prosperity is symbolized by having her hold his sceptre. This scene is to be found in the eleventh-century Bible of Ripoll or of Farfa in the Vatican Library and is also carved on the choir stalls of Amiens Cathedral.[3] However in a fourth-century fresco in the crypt of the basilica of Sts. Peter and Marcellin the artist has depicted Job's wife giving him bread at the end of a stick as he sits on a chair.[4] In later pictures the object she holds becomes

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[1] The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry, p. 103.

[2] The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS, Pt. II, p. 689.

[3] Réau, II, Pt. 1, 314.

[4] Leclercq, "Job", Dictionnaire d'Archéologie, VII, 2559.

a ladle[1] or a bunch of keys[2] with which she obviously menaces her long-suffering husband. There is a similar change in the function of the pail which Job's wife carries in some paintings. In the fifteenth-century altar-piece in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne[3] Job's wife can be seen in the upper right-hand corner approaching her husband with a bucket in her hand. Here it seems one more piece of evidence that this altar-piece really illustrates a legend like "The Testament of Job" rather than the biblical story for in "The Testament" the dying Job recalls his past miseries, and says,

> And my humbled wife who had been brought to her bridal chamber in such great luxuriousness and with spear-men as body-guards. I saw her do a water-carrier's work like a slave in the house of a common man in order to win some bread and bring it to me.[4]

Thus even in the altar-piece the pail she carries may still be a symbol of her drudgery but when it reappears in the Altar-piece of Jabach (c. 1500) by Dürer she is using it to pour water over him.[5] Although it is possible to believe that Dürer intended by this to show the misery of Job's complaint which necessitated so drastic a treatment,

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[1] Job, his wife, a demon and a fool playing a cornemuse, by an Alsacian engraver (1490-1500), Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. Described by Denis, "Saint Job", p. 294.

[2] Job hooted at by a crowd, by an imitator of H. Bosch (c. 1514), Musée de Douai. Denis, "Saint Job", Plate XXI, p. 290.

[3] "The Life of Job", Plate II.

[4] "The Testament", p. 322.

[5] Denis, "Saint Job", Plate III, p. 262.

it has generally been agreed that to his other miseries is added a wife who, in his poverty and illness, treats him with scorn and derision.[1] It seems most probable that when this pail first became part of the iconography of Job's wife it served to show her share in Job's suffering but, cut off from its original significance, it became a weapon rather than a symbol of devotion. These changes reflect alterations in the conception of the character of Job's wife, but may also have been instrumental in bringing them about since a misunderstanding of the symbol may have led to an altered view of the person who carried it.

However intricate were the means by which variations were introduced or transmitted, the early rivals of the Book of Job, together with incidents which grew from them and from the scriptural account, provided material which found its way into Middle English literature.

Thus Job's behaviour before his affliction resembles, in "The Life of Job", some elements of "The Testament". Job sanctifies his children and teaches his sons to keep their feasts without presumption, and his daughters not to be elated at their beauty, lest like Lucifer they be cast out of heaven.[2] This has faint echoes of "The Testament" where the children served the poor who ate at Job's tables and where Job asked the poor whom he aided to pray for his children who might have provoked God's

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[1]Denis, "Saint Job", p. 264.

[2]"The Life of Job", ll. 16-21.

anger by saying haughtily in their hearts, "We are children of this rich man. Ours are all these goods; why should we be servants of the poor?"[1] Job's virtues include "grete hospitalite/Of men and women,"[2] recalling "The Testament's" description of the four doors to Job's house through which the poor might pass to take anything they needed, and the thirty tables for strangers and twelve for widows which, like the table of Chaucer's Franklin, were always ready for a meal.[3] In "The Life of Job" the hero's return after his restoration to "gretter hospytalite than ever he did to-fore"[4] recalls "The Testament's" statement that it was Job's anxiety to begin again his work of benevolence toward the poor that caused him to ask a lamb and four drachmas from each of his friends.[5] It may also have been some source like "The Testament" which prompted the author of "The Life of Job" to say that after Christ's passion it pleased Him to convey Job "with patriarkes and prophetes all/Onto the perpetuall ioy and glory eternall,"[6] for "The Testament" says, "It is written that he will rise up with those whom the Lord will reawaken,"[7] though this is also the ending of the Book of

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[1]"The Testament", p. 320.

[2]"The Life of Job", ll. 2-3.

[3]"The Testament", p. 318.

[4]"The Life of Job", l. 167.

[5]"The Testament", pp. 334-335.

[6]"The Life of Job", ll. 181-182.

[7]"The Testament", p. 338.

Job in the Septuagint version.

One detail of Job's story left traces from legend sources in many English works. The Bible makes it clear that Job has a very distressing ailment, "a very grievous ulcer, from the sole of the foot even to the top of his head" (ii, 7), and speaks of "corrupt matter" (ii, 8) and suggests that the illness has an unpleasant odour when Job says, "My wife hath abhorred my breath" (xix, 17).[1] However the Middle English texts are more specific. Aelfric says, "Jobes ansene wære atelice toswollen, & his lic eall maðen weolle."[2] One homilist says that "te lichame warð bretful of wunden. and at eche wunde wul ut atter. Þo ne mihte no man for stenche cumen him enden",[3] and another says that the devil "wundede him wel neih to deðe. Swo þat he ne mihte finden on al his licame hwar he his finger on sette butte uppen wunden."[4] Orm too speaks at length of the stink and discharge which flowed from the resolute man's body[5] and the Metrical Paraphrase makes reference to his "vnhonest smell".[6] These details seem to have come from a source resembling "The Testament" rather

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[1]The Hebrew of this verse gives this more definitely than does the Vulgate. Pope translates, "My breath is offensive to my wife, My stench to my own children" (p. 129).

[2]Early English Homilies, p. 127.

[3]Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century, p. 167.

[4]Ibid., p. 197.

[5]The Ormulum, ll. 4770-785.

[6]Metrical Paraphrase, l. 14347.

than the Book of Job, for there we read, "I wet the earth with the moistness of my sore body, for matter flowed off my body",[1] and further on find that the friends carry perfume in their hands, and have their soldiers strew fragrant incense over the ground for the last half-mile as they approach Job's malordorous body.[2] This information may have been transmitted by St. John Chrysostom who describes the wasted body and says, "the running was constant, and the evil smell which surrounded him was strong."[3]

The worms present another aspect of Job's illness which is suggested in the Bible but described in much greater detail in "The Testament" and concerning which the references in some of the Fathers show a closer resemblance to "The Testament" than the Bible. Chrysostom says of Job that "a stream of worms on every side issued from his limbs"[4] a description which seems to owe more to "The Testament" where Job says that matter flowed from his body and "many worms covered it"[5] than to the Septuagint which was Chrysostom's text of the Bible and which says, "my body is covered with loathsome worms" (vii, 5). Tertullian however gives evidence of an even closer connection

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[1]"The Testament", p. 322. This is also touched on in the Moslem accounts, see above, pp. 222-223.

[2]Ibid., p. 327.

[3]Chrysostom, Nicene Fathers, 1st ser., IX, 195-196.

[4]Ibid., p. 195.

[5]"The Testament", p. 322.

with "The Testament" for he says that Job "sportively replaced the vermin that break out thence, in the same caves and feeding-places of his pitted flesh!"[1] and while nothing of this nature occurs in the Bible, "The Testament" says, "And when a single worm crept off my body, I put it back saying: 'remain on the spot where thou hast been placed until He who hath sent thee will order thee elsewhere.'"[2] The worms took a firm hold on the English imagination. Aelfric mentions them,[3] and the Alphabet of Tales assumes them when it tells of a soldier turned monk who believes himself forgiven for a sin he has committed when he sees on his body the "sign of Job" which he describes by saying,

> þer began to brede a sur like a sylk threde in his legg, on the same syde & in þe same place whar he cutt off the husbandman legg [the sin for which he repents]. And be little & little it began to rote, so þat att þe laste mawkis bred þerin.[4]

The description is undoubtedly related to the "Apocalypse of Paul" in which Job's sores were at first as grains of

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[1]Tertullian, Ante-Nicene Fathers, III, 716.

[2]"The Testament", p. 322.

[3]Early English Homilies, p. 126. This may only be evidence for the suggestion, which Sparks makes (p. 116), that Aelfric used the Old-Latin Bible. Though there is little elsewhere in his "Forbisne of Job" to substantiate this, here he may have in mind the words of Job's wife, greatly increased in the Old-Latin version where she says to Job, "Tuque in putredine vermium sedes" (P.L., XXIX, 66). Aelfric seems, however, to be translating quite carefully here, his "ascrop þe weormes of his lice mid anen crocscearde" seems a fairly faithful rendering of "testa saniem radebat" (Vulgate, ii, 7) or of "Et tulit sibi testam, ut raderet saniem" (Jerome I).

[4]An Alphabet of Tales, p. 332.

wheat and then like asses' feet with worms falling from them.[1]

An incident described by J. de Douhet in his Dictionnaire des Mystères from Le Mystère de Job develops the worm-incident further and also makes use of the Satan-in-disguise motif which is so frequently a part of Job's trials in the legends. In this fifteenth-century French play Satan accosts Job in the form of a beggar asking charity. Job is penniless at this time, but, being unwilling to turn a poor man away empty-handed, he gives him one of his worms. Satan takes it and then shows it to Job's wife, by his evil power making it appear as a piece of gold. Job's wife is infuriated to find that her husband possesses gold in abundance and yet allows her to perish of want, and she rushes to him to heap a thousand insults at his head.[2]

The worms have been replaced when this story occurs in English, and it is not Satan disguised but a group of kindly musicians who have come to comfort him with their art whom Job attempts to reward. In "The Life of Job" the story reads,

> This sore syk man syttyng on this foule dongehill,
> There cam mynstrelles be-fore hym, pleying meryly.
> Mony had he none to reward aftyr his will,
> But gave theym the brode scabbes of his sore body,
> Whiche turned unto pure golde, as sayth the story.
> The mynstrelles than shewid and tolde to Iob his wyfe
> That he so reward them; where-fore she gan to stryfe.

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[1]James, The Apocryphal New Testament, p. 552. A similar description occurs in ath-Tha'labi, p. 150.

[2]Dictionnaire des Mystères, pp. 476-477.

> Than saying unto Iob in angre this woman,
> 'To mynstrelles and players thow gevyst golde largely,
> But thou hidest thi gode from me, lyke a false man,'
> And with many seducious wordes openly
> There hym rebuked with langage most sharply.[1]

In their edition of this poem, Professors Garmonsway and Raymo suggest that the Job story has acquired this detail of the worthless object changed into gold from folk-lore and saints' legends.[2] As they also point out, the Wallraf-Richartz Museum's Altar of St. Job includes details which illustrate this event.[3] In one wing Job gives something to one of the musicians and in another detail the musicians are showing something to his wife. It is not perhaps of vital importance to an understanding of this incident to note that the object seems to have changed hands as well as having changed its quality, for it is not the man who received it but one of the other two musicians who holds it out to the wife.

"The Life of Job" puts Job through a series of incidents designed to show his prodigious patience and among these is the visit of the physicians which the poet reports,

> The leches and visiscions cam then to hele
> The sore body of Iob by crafte artificiall,
> But with theym in no wyse wold he then dele,
> For He that rayneth a-bove in the courte celestiall,
> That suffered hym to be made sore in his body all
> Cowde as lyghtly hym hele, he said, yf His wyll be.
> 'Wherefore the cure I remytte unto His deite.'[4]

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[1] "The Life of Job", ll. 120-131.

[2] Ibid., p. 85.

[3] Ibid., n. 1.

[4] Ibid., ll. 99-105.

As the editors point out this is related, in all probability, to the passage in "The Testament" in which the friends bring the physicians of three kings to cure Job if he will consent, but he rejects them saying, "My cure and my restoration cometh from God, the Maker of physicians."[1] The Metrical Paraphrase has the slightest possible suggestion of this notion when it says, "bot god þat kast me in þis cabull/may, when hym lyst, lawse yt agayn."[2]

When The Chastising of God's Children specifies that although the wicked spirit had power at times to trouble people with bodily sickness as Job was, "euermore bi grace þei haue her wittis and reson wiþ hem",[3] it may be drawing on a source like one of ath-Tha'labi's tales in which Allah permits Satan power over Job's body but reserves his tongue, his heart and his reason.[4] There is also a faint reflection of the Moslem stories in "The Life of Job" where Job's cure is effected by an angel,[5] and it is specifically stated that he "clotheth hym newe."[6] The latter is not perhaps convincing evidence of source when one considers that Job's nakedness is a constant feature in art, but clothing is specifically mentioned in

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[1]"The Testament", p. 330.

[2]Metrical Paraphrase, ll. 14575-576.

[3]The Chastising of God's Children, pp. 166-167.

[4]Ath-Tha'labi, p. 149.

[5]"The Life of Job", l. 138.

[6]Ibid., l. 139.

ath-Tha'labi's stories,[1] and the angel Gabriel is the instrument of Job's cure in the Estoria.[2]

The role of Job's wife is another element of the story which drew to itself features from legends and indeed seems to have generated new features during the course of transmission. The legends provided incidents in which she displayed loving concern for her husband. The shrewish characteristics much more frequently attributed to her may have originated in the association which the Church Fathers made between her and Eve because she advised Job to curse God, or may have risen out of the dramatic necessity inherent in the story for a bad character to act as a foil for Job's virtue.

As a good wife she is found only once in Middle English literature, in The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry, translated into English in the fifteenth century from the French original written c. 1371. La Tour-Landry sets forth an account of Job's losses and continues,

> there belefte hym no thinge saue only hym selff and his wiff. And in so moche that for his grete pouerte he had no loginge nor duellinge place but upon a donghille, wherewith he hadd also gret sikenesse, maladie, and lacke of sustenaunce. And but his wiff, with the releef of that that pepille gaue vnto her, she susteyned his lyff in moche tribulacion and anguisshe of pouerte.[3]

This seems to reflect the account of ath-Tha'labi which

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[1]Ath-Tha'labi, p. 158.

[2]Leyendas Moriscas, pp. 257-260.

[3]The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry, p. 103. La Tour-Landry disapproves, of course, but sympathetically, with her advice to Job to curse God and die.

says that when Job was taken ill

> the people of the town thrust him out and put him on a rubbish heap and made over him a hut, and all God's creatures abandoned him save only his wife, Rahma. . . . She kept repeatedly coming to him with what would help him, and honoring him.[1]

However the reference to "the releef of that that pepille gaue vnto her" suggests the situation presented in the Estoria where Rahma is helped to provide for her husband by the good Israelites until they are commanded by Iblis, disguised as a famous doctor, not to let her work for them or to give anything to her.[2]

I have found only one other reference which suggests that Job's wife was a comfort rather than an added trial, and it is perhaps significant that this occurs in the legend of St. Eustace which La Tour-Landry refers to as an illustration of patience in the New Testament corresponding to the Old Testament exemplum of Job.[3] In this poem St. Eustace compares his own lot unfavourably with that of Job, saying,

> wel ichot þat iob hadde: y-nou of care & sore;
> a lone wrecche as icham: me þinc þ ichaue more:
> for he hadde frend & wif also: him forto bimene,
> me nis bileueþ wif ne frend: to solaci me ene.[4]
> (ll. 107-110)

The bad wife seems to be scriptural, or at least it would seem that she has been created by developing a

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[1] Ath-Tha'labi, p. 150.

[2] Leyendas Moriscas, I, 253-254.

[3] The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry, pp. 103-104.

[4] The Early South-English Legendary, p. 396.

venom potentially present in the words of the Bible, if not entirely intended there. Although the bad wife so frequently found in the literature may be based to some extent on the Bible, she shows some evidence of legend influence too. Her one utterance in the Bible, "Dost thou still continue in thy simplicity? Bless God and die" (ii, 9) gave a groundwork on which her bad character could be constructed. Since "bless" was the writer's euphemism for "curse" the second part of this statement was clearly blasphemy, while the first showed disdain for Job's simplicity in retaining his faith in God and so presented one more influence to break Job's allegiance.[1] In this respect she seemed like Eve tempting her husband to disobey God. The other reference to her in the Book of Job, "My wife hath abhorred my breath" (xix, 17), provided additional evidence of her contempt for her distressed husband. The idea of the bad wife however seems to have been popularized through works of art which illustrate not the bad wife of scripture, but the good wife of legend.

Job's story is most consistently illustrated in art by showing a naked and spotted man seated on a dunghill while a woman approaches offering food on the end of a stick. Other details are often included and these are

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[1]Jewish authorities suggest that his wife's intention was benevolent towards him, interpreting her meaning by saying, "She advised him to blaspheme God, so that the heavenly punishment of death should immediately come down upon him, and he would be rid of his sufferings" (Ginzberg, V, 386). The views of the Church Fathers are discussed on pp. 159-161.

remarkably constant. That she should bring food is nowhere suggested in the Bible,[1] but is stated in "The Testament" where Job tells his children that his wife Sitis worked as a slave in order to earn bread for him.[2] The illustration seems therefore to include a detail from the legend tradition rather than from the Bible. However the wife's approach was used to remind those who looked at the picture or carving of another of Job's troubles, the illness which made it unpleasant for others to come near him. This may be why his wife holds out the bread to him at the end of a stick, and is no doubt why she approaches with her hand or a wisp of cloth held to her nose.[3] Since the presence of the food shows that the illustration intends

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[1]The Septuagint contains a longer version of the wife speech in which she says, "I am a wanderer and a servant from place to place and house to house, waiting for the sun to set" (ii, 9) but does not specifically mention food. Part of her speech in "The Testament" is very similar (p. 323).

[2]"The Testament", p. 322.

[3]Works of art which present this scene include a third-century fresco in the cemetery of Sts. Peter and Marcellin; the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, St. Peter's, Rome; an illustration in a copy of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzen prepared for Basilius I (880-885), MS B.N. fons Gr. 510 f. 71^{v}; a tenth- or eleventh-century manuscript Psalter (MS Salteris Cod. vat. Palat. greco. 381); a carving on the capital of a pilastre at Saint-Andre the Less, Vienna, 1152; a capital in the cloister of Notre Dame des Dominicans in the Museum at Avignon; a miniature in the twelfth-century Hortus Deliciarum of the nun Herrade of Landsperg; the Portail de la Calende of the Rouen Cathedral, and three scenes on the Tympan of Chartres Cathedral (c. 1230). Information about these works is found in the Dictionnaire d'Archéologie, VII, 2554 ff.; Das Alte Testament im Bilde; Réau, Iconographie, II, Pt. 1, 315; James, Book of Old Testament Illustrations of the Thirteenth Century, p. 40.

to depict the devoted wife of legend, this may originally have been intended as additional proof of her devotion. Illustrated in this way however it could be interpreted as distaste and gave added proof of the shrewish qualities which came to be associated with her.

It is as a shrew that the wife of Job is most frequently shown in Middle English literature, a shrew whose qualities had developed out of the scant reference in the Bible and a misunderstanding of the iconography in which she appeared. Her unkindness is shown when a twelfth-century homilist describes the miseries of Job's plight and says that no man could come near Job because of the smell, "ne his wif nolde."[1] "The Profits of Tribulation" adds to her spitefulness when it says that Job "had lost his possessions, his sonnes & his douȝters, & all his body was smyten with woundes of leper fro þe sole of the fote vnto þe ouer-parte of the heed, & was repreued of his frendis & scorned of his wyfe."[2] The Metrical Paraphrase further elaborates it when it says,

> So os he rested in yll aray,
> his wyf turment hym more to teyne.
> "now may men se," þus con scho say,
> "of what condycions þou hath bene.
> blyse god and dy and wend þi way,
> for oþer welthys is none to wene.
> þou has not plessed þi god to pay,
> þat is wele by þi sorow sene."[3]

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[1] Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century, p. 167.

[2] Yorkshire Writers, II, 404.

[3] Metrical Paraphrase, ll. 14353-360. It is curious that the Jewish source of the idea that Job's wife urged

This speech reflects the intention of some of the friends' but is otherwise explicable simply from the inventiveness of the author and the traditional spitefulness of the wife. A similar extension of scripture occurs in "The Life of Job" where we read,

> Cam his wyf and to hym seid, 'Yet in thi simplicite
> Thou here arte permanent? Corse thi God and dye than!
> Thou beste, what is thi pacience nowe in thyn adyersite?
> This shalt thou never recover, trust verely me.'[1]

English literature gives little evidence of the cults of Job. He was the patron saint of homes for incurables, especially lepers,[2] and the particular reverence in which he was held in Venice has been linked with his efficacy in healing the plague and that city's vulnerability to it.[3] Of his home in Bosra, a tradition preserved in the monastery Deir-Eyoub, Bashan,[4] there is no mention in English. Chrysostom says that in his day "many undertake a long pilgrimage, even across the sea, hastening from the

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him to blaspheme so that his sufferings might find release in death adds the words, "Confess thy sins to God, and do not entertain any hope that He will relieve thee of thy suffering" (Ginzberg, V, 386), which might conceivably be altered to give the Middle English reading above. The Metrical Paraphrase shares another similarity with the Jewish commentators in finding Job's behaviour unsatisfactory under his trial (ll. 15049-5096). Ginzberg says that all the rabbis "agree that Job was found wanting when tested by suffering" (V, 389).

[1]"The Life of Job", ll. 93-96.

[2]Leclercq, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie, VII, Pt. 2, 2568.

[3]Panofsky, "Albrecht Dürer", p. 92.

[4]Leclercq, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie, VII, Pt. 2, 2568.

extremities of the earth, as far as Arabia,"[1] in order to see Job's dunghill, but if this custom survived Middle English authors did not know of it. Nor do they refer to the tradition that Job's body had been carried to Rome, and was later transferred to Pavia by Rotherius, King of the Lombards,[2] or to the cult of Job's tomb and his well near Jerusalem.[3] Of the tradition, firmly established on the continent, that made Job the patron of musicians only the one slight trace can be found. This is in "The Life of Job" in which minstrels come to play "meryly" to him as he sits on his dunghill, and are rewarded by the token which turns into gold.[4] Far from regarding him as the archetype of all melancholics, as Panofsky reports was the general view in the later Middle Ages,[5] the one reference to him in this connection shows him as a protector against this malady for the author of "The Remedy ayenst the Troubles of Temptacyons" advises,

> For there as he [the fiend] fyndeth a man full of malencoly he tempteth hym moost with ghoostly temptacyons of Ire. But they that wyll attende to withstande it for the loue of god they must shape them to pacyence & saye with Iob: Sythen we haue receyued of god so grete benefaytes why sholde we not receyue and suffre dyseases.[6]

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[1] Chrysostom, Nicene Fathers, IX, 371.

[2] Meyer, "St. Job", p. 21.

[3] Ibid.

[4] "The Life of Job", ll. 120-124.

[5] Panofsky, "Albrecht Dürer", p. 92.

[6] Yorkshire Writers, II, 109.

In all, the influence of the legends on the literature is relatively slight yet, as has been shown, traces of them are to be seen in a few lively details and in characteristic attitudes to Job, his wife and his friends. Above all, perhaps, it is by the tone which pervades such accounts as "The Life of Job" and, to a lesser extent, the Metrical Paraphrase, and such brief versions as occur in the Ormulum[1] and "A Tretyse of 'Parce michi, Domini!'" (ll. 213-224)[2] that the legendary notion of the man of superlative patience is to be found in Middle English literature.

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[1] Ormulum, pp. 4750-835.

[2] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 149.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LITURGICAL TRADITION

Early in the ninth century there came into being a liturgical office which was to have a profound influence on the interpretation of the passages from the Book of Job of which it made use. This was the Matins Office of the Dead, commonly known as the Dirige from the opening words of the first nocturn, Dirige, Domine, Deus meus, in conspectu tuo viam meam.

The choice of the Book of Job for the text of the nine lessons which together with nine Psalms and responsories make up this office is not difficult to understand. The book contains an abundance of material suitable for mournful occasions and quotations from it inscribed on sarcophagi dating back to pre-Christian times attest to its early association with death.[1]

The earliest Christian prayer service for funerals was the Commendatio Animae, which took the form of a series of petitions, "Libera me, domine, sicut liberasti (talem) de (tali periculo)".[2] Among the Old Testament figures thus saved was Job, the petition at that point

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[1]Cabrol, p. 302.

[2]James, Book of Old Testament Illustrations, p. 8. The text of this prayer is given by Leclercq in "Défunts", Dictionnaire d'archéologie, IV, 435-436.

reading, "Deliver us, O Lord, as you delivered Job from his sufferings." Bréhier says that this prayer had reached its present form by the third century[1] but its origin is earlier since it had been derived from the Jewish liturgy for fast days.[2] Cabrol, pointing out that the Book of Job had long been considered appropriate to ceremonies relating to mourning and the Passion, shows that it was from very early times read on days of fasting and abstinence and specifically on Monday in Holy Week.[3]

When this long-standing connection was developed into the Dirige is not precisely known. It is unlikely that the office was in general use before the eighth century since, although it was originally a monastic office, the ceremonies which accompanied and commemorated the interment of a monk at Monte Cassino early in the eighth century did not include it.[4] Leclercq says that there is no record of it at the time of the abbey's reformation under Petronax who became abbot about 718. At that time the brothers recited on behalf of the dead monk the seven penitential psalms and the litanies as they lay prostrate on the ground.[5] Batiffol finds that the Penitentials of Theodore of Canterbury (d. 690) and Egbert of York (d. 766)

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[1]Bréhier, p. 38.

[2]Leclercq, Manuel d'Iconographie chrétienne, I, 112.

[3]Cabrol, p. 3, n. 2.

[4]Leclercq, "Office Divin", Dictionnaire d'archéologie, XII, 2006-2007.

[5]Ibid.

give no evidence that there was such a thing as a vigil of the dead at Rome when they visited it,[1] Egbert's second and last visit to Rome being in 735.[2] However when Amalarius, a disciple of Alcuin and Archbishop of Treves from about 809, visited Rome he found that services honouring the dead included one of nine psalms and nine lessons with responsories,[3] a description which would suit the Dirige. Like Leclercq, Batiffol finds the earliest record of it in the days of Amalarius and he reports, "Then only, alongside of the ordo sepulturae, do we find a real canonical office for the dead--officium pro mortuis. The antiphonary of S. Peter's and the Ordines Romani give us both its text and its rubrics."[4]

Once formed the office gradually grew in importance. It became part of the Breviary and its recitation became one of the duties of monastic foundations and cathedral chapters. Later it was also included in a much simplified version of the Breviary, the Primarium or Prymer. This book was intended for the laity rather than the clergy and Carleton Brown believes that it only gradually achieved its final form.[5] Usually it contains the Hours of the Blessed Virgin, the seven Penitential Psalms, the

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[1]Batiffol, p. 150.

[2]Hind, C.E., V, 326.

[3]Leclercq, "Office Divin", XII, 2009.

[4]Batiffol, p. 150.

[5]Brown, Study, p. 127.

fifteen Gradual Psalms, the Litany, the Office of the Dead (Vespers or Placebo, Matins or Dirige, and Lauds) and the Commendations. Originally in Latin, it was later translated into English and in both languages the Prymer greatly broadened the audience for the Office of the Dead and for the lessons from the Book of Job which the Dirige contains. In English it also provided a variety of versions for the reading public.[1]

The antiphons of this office were not, as in most offices, portions of the book from which the lessons were taken but, with one exception, were ecclesiastical compositions[2] prepared to shape the lessons to the special purpose for which the office was designed. Possibly because this was a departure from the usual custom some writers assumed that they were the words of Job and quoted them as his.[3] Another effect of the antiphons and the office of a whole was that the passages selected for these lessons underwent a subtle change of meaning from that which they had had in their original context.

The passages selected include some of the least patient of Job's utterances. Cabrol sums up their general significance by saying, "Man, seeing himself face to face with death, complains to God of the inevitable destiny

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[1]A collation of the texts of the Lessons in the surviving manuscripts together with a study of their relationship to one another and to the poem "The Lessouns of the Dirige" is given in Appendix C.

[2]Cabrol, p. 301.

[3]See below, pp. 325-330.

that overtakes every human being. . . . The boldness of these bewailings sometimes surprises us."[1] In the context of the office however the defiance becomes less obvious, and the mediaeval world tended to interpret even the most challenging phrases as recognition of the transience of this world and as lament for sin.

One of the clearest pieces of evidence that the meaning of these passages was affected by their presence in the Dirige is the ~~Parvum Job~~ Super lectiones vitae beati Job of Richard Rolle.[2] An examination of the text of the office together with extracts from Rolle's commentary will show the modifications which the Dirige brought about in some of the most daring of Job's speeches.

The opening lesson is part of a speech where Job characterizes the life of man as an incessant struggle from which death presents a longed-for release (vii, 1-2). His own extreme misery is only an intensification of the normal rigours of life (vii, 3-6). He sees nothing to hope for in this wretchedness but the release of death (vii, 7-10) and therefore resolves to speak, as he says, "with the bitterness of my soul" (vii, 11). After reproaching God for the harshness with which he has been treated Job continues with the words which make up the

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[1]Cabrol, pp. 301-302.

[2]This work is discussed by Hope Emily Allen in Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, pp. 130-144. She accepts it as the work of Rolle. Quotations from the ~~Parvum Job~~ Super lectiones are taken from the Oxford edition of c. 1483, Cambridge University Library copy, AB.4.31.

first lesson,

> Spare me, for my days are nothing. What is a man that thou shouldst magnify him? Or why dost thou set thy heart upon him? Thou visitest him early in the morning; and thou provest him suddenly. How long wilt thou not spare me, nor suffer me to swallow down my spittle? I have sinned. What shall I do to thee, O keeper of men? Why hast thou set me opposite to thee, and I am become burdensome to myself? Why dost thou not remove my sin, and why dost thou not take away my iniquity? Behold, now I sleep in the dust: and if thou seek me in the morning I shall not be.[1]
>
> (vii, 16b-21)

Some portions of this lesson are readily adapted to the function which the rubric of the "Pety Job" ascribes to it, of being "full profitable to stere synners to compunccion."[2] "What is man that thou shouldst magnify him? Or why dost thou set thy heart upon him?" needs only to be understood literally rather than ironically as Job intended it and it can merit the comparison which Rolle makes between the graciousness of God[3] and the contemptible

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[1]The translation of the lessons is taken from the Douai-Rheims version with such alterations as the difference between the text of the office and that of the Bible make necessary. I have used the Latin text of the Breviarium ad Usum Insignis Ecclesiae Sarum, Vol. II (ed. F. Procter and C. Wordsworth) since this reproduces an edition of 1531 which retains the wording used by the mediaeval church while the modern office has slight differences. Where these are significant I give the Latin in a footnote but change the translation without drawing attention to the fact. I do not for example remark on slight differences like the occurrence in Procter and Wordsworth of "dormio" where both the Vulgate and modern office use "dormiam", but simply adjust the translation to agree with the Procter and Wordsworth reading. The antiphons are basically those of The Roman Breviary: An English Version but some changes have been made. I quote the Latin since it differs in some respects from the modern office and is less readily accessible than the text of the lessons.

[2]Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 121.

[3]Rolle, A, iii^{v}, "O mira dignatio conditoris. O immensa benignitas redemptoris . . . ."

nature of the creature He delights to honour.[1] Job may have intended the section, "I have sinned. What shall I do to thee, O keeper of men?" as a reproach to the implacable nature of God Who, it seemed, never forgot an injury, or surprise that God should be concerned at man's actions since He dwelt on a far higher plane, impervious to anything that man could do to Him.[2] However the text is not in the least distorted when it is understood as an acknowledgement of sin as a debt which the sinner sees no way of discharging. Parts of the lesson therefore are not altered if they participate in the interpretation given to the lessons of the office as a whole, that they are an admission of man's sinfulness and an appeal for God's mercy.

Some portions however must be approached with this intention in mind if they are to produce such a meaning, and some must be wrenched entirely out of their literal sense. That these alterations were made is amply demonstrated by Rolle's ~~Parvum Job~~ Super lectiones.

"Spare me, for my days are nothing" can be understood, and in context must be understood, as demanding relief from torment since life is short. In Rolle's meditation however it becomes a warning of the brevity of life,

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[1]Rolle, A, iv^{r}, "Sed quid est homo. Homo est massa putredinis. vas abhominationis. esca vermis. homo est natura fragilissima. ad malum prona: ad bonum tarda. terrenis aglutinata. longe a celestibus gaudijs expulsa."

[2]RSV reads, "If I sin, what do I do to thee, thou watcher of men?" Dhorme is almost identical (p. 110) and Pope, "What have I done to you, man watcher?" (p. 57). Pope drops "I have sinned" because he thinks it unnecessary and finds the poetic line too long if it is included (p. 62).

the inevitability of death for even the most powerful and a plea to be spared the pain of hell.[1] Indeed Rolle finally interprets it in such a way that Job dismisses all his afflictions as nothing and begs that God may not spare him in this world, for only by tribulation in this world will he escape eternal punishment.[2]

"How long wilt thou not spare me, nor suffer me to swallow down my spittle?" is no longer in Rolle a protest against the unremitting blows with which God has stricken Job but becomes an acknowledgement that God interferes to keep men from sin. As Rolle understands the verse to swallow one's spittle is to repeat one's sins and this God prevents because it would be fatal to the soul.[3]

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[1]Rolle, A, ii^{r-v}, "Exprimitur autem in hijs verbis humane conditionis instabilitas que non habet in hac miserabili valle manentem mansionem set ~~prohibit~~ potestas a principibus peruersis et ferientur proculdubio in profundissimas flammas infernorum . . . hinc postulo. deposto. flagito. rogo. Parce michi domine. Vt non peream non condempner cum iniquis."

[2]Ibid., A, iii^{r}, "Beatus vero Job a possessionibus et diuicijs spoliatus. filijs orbatus. ab vxore imperatus. ab amicis calumpniatus. morbo graui percussus. et nudus in sterquilinio sedens maximeque tribulatus apte ad deum clamorem dirigit. et in tanta miseria positus cum desiderio cordis Dicit. Parce michi domine nichil enim sunt dies mei. . . . Omnes boni dies in quibus gaudebam iam transierunt Mali autem superueniunt et hij nichil sunt: quia nichil boni secum ferunt. utique sic erit de omnibus impijs qui ducunt in bonis presentibus dies suos et in puncto ad inferna descendunt. vbi autem non habent diem sed noctem sempiternam. . . . Igitur o domine non sim de numero illorum quibus parcis in presenti et punis in futuro. quibus parcis a presenti tribulatione et cruciaris in futura exustione. quibus parcis temporaliter et punis eternaliter."

[3]Ibid., B, i^{v}-ii^{r}: "Ecce gaudium punicionis. quia non parcit in presenti. glorificat in futuro. et vtiliter non parcis in hac peregrinacione. quia nec

In the reproach, "Why hast thou set me opposite to thee, and I am become burdensome to myself?" Rolle sees a rebellious or anguished utterance, not per impossibilis, of the patient Job, but of the deservedly damned, thoughts of whom the office was intended to provoke. To such, Rolle says, it is as if God replies,

> I have not placed you contrary to me, but I have not chosen you to an eternity of glory. I have not however done evil for I am God and without any iniquity, just and right. But you placed yourself contrary to me by scorning my commandments and following after your desires. And thence I thrust you eternally out of the fellowship of the saints.[1]

The condemnation of Job implied in thus explaining words which he uttered in all seriousness from his own situation as fit only for the damned bears witness to the intransigence of the text of the central portion of the Book of Job, and its basic incompatibility with the religious outlook of these later times.

The antiphon which follows this lesson is the familiar, "I believe that my Redeemer liveth, and in the last day I shall rise out of the earth, and in my flesh shall I see God, my Saviour. Whom I myself shall see, and

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dimittis me vt gluciam saliuam meam. id est. in tantum me premis sub tuo timore quod non reuertor ad peccatum quemadmodum canis ad suum vomitum et sus ad volutabrum luti. . . . Sed profecto hanc saliuam non dimittit deus iustum glutire: quia illum ociosum esse non sinit."

[1]Rolle, B, v^{r}: "quasi respondeat deus: te michi contrarium non posui. sed ad eternitatem glorie non elegi. Non autem ago malum qui deus sum. et absque vlla iniquitate iustus et rectus. Sed tu teipsum posuisti michi contrarium condempnendo mandata mea et eundo post concupiscentias tuas. Et inde te a consortio sanctorum eternaliter expello."

not another, and my eyes shall behold."[1] It scarcely needs to be pointed out that this is an adaptation of Job xix, 25-27, a passage which occurs again as part of the eighth lesson of the Dirige. It is unique among the antiphons of the office for the confidence which pervades it but more especially in being taken from the Book of Job.

The text of the second lesson underwent, on the whole, a much greater change in meaning as it moved from the Book of Job to the office. As it stands it presents many difficulties for those who expect the words of Job to be those of exemplary patience:

> My soul is weary of my life: I will let go my speech against myself. I will speak in the bitterness of my soul. I will say to God: Do not condemn me. Tell me why thou judgest me so. Doth it seem good to thee that thou shouldst calumniate me, and oppress me, the work of thy own hands, and help the counsel of the wicked? Hast thou eyes of flesh? Or, shalt thou see as man seeth? Are thy days as the days of man, and are thy years as the times of men: That thou shouldst inquire after my iniquity and search after my sin? And shouldst know that I have done no wicked thing, whereas there is no man that can deliver out of thy hand.
>
> (x, 1-7)

Again the meditation of Rolle is helpful in watching the shift from a tacitly unacceptable literal meaning to a more palatable interpretation but one less accurate as a reflection of the speaker's original meaning.

The opening verses offer little to which exception can be taken. "My soul is weary of my life: I will let

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[1] "Credo quod Redemptor meus vivit et in novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum. Et in carne mea videbo Deum Salvatorem meum. Quem visurus sum ego ipse et non alius: et oculi mei conspecturi sunt."

go my speech against myself. I will speak in the bitterness of my soul," can quite readily be understood as expressing the speaker's disgust at the sinfulness of his life and his resolution to acknowledge his faults. Without the expression "against myself" a very different meaning might be taken from it, and this reading is of doubtful authenticity.[1] However it was in this form that the passage presented itself to Rolle and his contemporaries for interpretation. The next verse too, "I will say to God: Do not condemn me. Tell me why thou judgest me so", although probably intended as calling God to account rather than voicing an appeal, contains nothing that contradicts the latter interpretation. In both cases the text before the reader offered no resistance to those who desired to present Job as virtuous and in nothing more virtuous than in his sensitiveness to the stains with which even his good life had sullied his soul. So understood the passages could easily speak for the generality of men who read the office, a similar sensitivity being roused in them by the reminder of the consequences of unrepented sin.

What remains however presents a rather intransigent appearance, and Rolle's meditation is helpful in showing how the devout reader adjusted the words of the text so that Job's piety coincided with his own. For him the verse, "Doth it seem good to thee that thou shouldst

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[1] Dhorme translates "to myself" and suggests that Job is going to commune with himself (p. 146).

calumniate me, and oppress me, the work of thy own hands, and help the counsel of the wicked", can have been uttered only to be contradicted. Obviously, says Rolle, to God Who alone is good it does not seem good to slander and unjustly oppress the poor and aid the plans of the wicked rich. It is in the eyes of the worldly that it seems good to oppress the poor unjustly and to calumniate without cause those whom God saves and raises up. To such it seems good to aid the counsels of the wicked and to approve for the sake of obtaining the wealth of the world what God reproves and damns.[1] Rolle approves Job's admission that he is the work of God's hands since this, he says, shows that Job attributes what is good in him to God unlike the wicked who think they excel through their own power.[2] In the words "tell me why thou judgest me so" Rolle sees a salutary warning to the wicked who have little reason to expect leniency in view of the severity with which God judges the good.[3] The next section was equally difficult to reconcile with what the devout believer

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[1]Rolle, C, v^{r}: "Scilicet tibi qui solus bonus es, non videtur bonum calumpnizari [sic] et opprimere iniuste pauperem et adiuuare consilium impiorum diuitum, scilicet, et iudicium terrenorum quibus quia mali sunt bonum videtur opprimere iniuste pauperem et sine causa calumpniari eum quem tu saluas et subleuas et bonum eis videtur adiuuare consilium impiorum diuitum, scilicet, et iudicium propter lucrum mundi optinendum quod tu reprobas et dampnas."

[2]Ibid., C, v^{v}: "Ideo vtique se pauperem opus manuum dei affirmauit. . . . Impii autem et plurimique istius mundi honoribus exaltati. per suam potentiam se putant excellere."

[3]Ibid., C, iv^{r}: "Quale putamus iudicium fiet contra prauos. quando ita districte iudicat deus bonos."

assumed to be the intention of the office, and the correct manner in which to address God. Rolle's uneasiness in approaching it is shown in his appeal to the blessed elders to pray that, young as he is, he may not err in explaining the meaning of the passage with worthiness and suitability since its lofty significance requires him to endeavour to expound it well.[1] He denies that God has eyes of flesh,--though admitting that Christ had--and insists that while man sees the outside God perceives the heart and therefore sees in a very different way from man and that, while man's time is uncertain and unstable, God is always the same and His years do not fail.[2] Rolle also shows the orthodox view of Job's purpose in raising these questions when he says that Job asks because of those who are infirm and imperfect in faith and presents them with the purpose of denying, not affirming, his words.[3]

Implicit in Job's words is astonishment that, in examining him for sins, God should behave as though He had

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[1]Rolle, C, vi^{r}: "O sancti seniores orate pro me juuene, vt non errem in hac exposicione set pocius digna et congrua valeam pronunciare. Alta enim sentencia hic donatur et ideo conandum vt non aliter quam bene exponatur."

[2]Ibid., D, i^{r}-ii^{r}: "Aut sicut homo videt ea que exterius apparent deus autem intuetur cor ergo sicut homo videt tu non vides. sed alio modo. . . . Ergo incertum est et instabile tempus humanum. Tu autem O domine deus idem ipsi es et anni tui non deficient."

[3]Ibid., D, ii^{r}: "Has questiones beatus Job non affirmando: sed negando intulit. et propter infirmos et imperfectos in fide: quesiuit." Cf. Gregory who says that Job puts these questions in such a way as to deny them even as he asks them, I, 547.

no better insight than a human being when in fact His omniscience should make Him fully aware that Job has done nothing wicked. However Rolle shows that he did not interpret the passage in this way. Having disposed of any suggestion that God's insight or time was limited as man's is, he takes the portion, "That thou shouldst inquire after my iniquity and search after my sin", as a warning that man is subjected to a most exacting scrutiny from a God who with impartiality and uprightness probes the utmost quarter and requires that the debt of sin be paid.[1] In these circumstances it would be consoling to think he could survive such an examination and say that "thou . . . shouldst know that I have done no wicked thing." Unfortunately the scrutiny will show that he has done many wicked things and therefore he can only plead that he has repented of any mortal sins he has committed and has willingly accepted punishment for them.[2]

The antiphon which follows this challenging lesson restores a tone of dependence on the mercy of God: "Thou that raised Lazarus stinking from the tomb, thou, Lord, give them rest and a place of forgiveness. Thou that art

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[1]Rolle, D, ii[V]: "Nam infavorabiliter queris. et rectissime scrutaris usque ad nouissimam quadrantem: iubes reddi debitum."

[2]Ibid.: "Sed quo modo hoc scies tu qui fidelis es et non potes testari falsum: cum ego fateor me multum impium fecisse. Quid ergo miser quid dicam. reus sum. et non saluabor. nisi audeam dicere. cum me scrutatus fueris. Scias quia nihil impium fecerim. Recte ergo intellige si non vis deuiare. Scias quia nihil impium mortale. scilicet flagicium fecerim: de quo non penituerim et in quantum in me est de scientia vindicte tue non deleuerim."

to come to judge the living and the dead and the world by fire."[1]

The third lesson requires little adjustment to fit in with the purpose of the office as an intercession for the mercy of God since it reads,

> Thy hands have made me and fashioned me wholly round about. And dost thou thus cast me down headlong on a sudden? Remember, I beseech thee, that thou hast made me as the clay, and thou wilt bring me into dust again. Hast thou not milked me as milk, and curdled me like cheese? Thou hast clothed me with skin and flesh. Thou hast put me together with bones and sinews. Thou hast granted me life and mercy; and thy visitation hath preserved my spirit.

Most of the ideas in this passage set forth the benevolence of God toward man, and Job's question "And dost thou thus cast me down headlong on a sudden?" which might have been understood as suggesting a capriciousness in God could also be interpreted so that it presented misfortune as further evidence of God's kindness. It is in this way that Rolle explains it when he says that God strikes suddenly the man whom He has destined for eternal pleasures because He casts him swiftly from the worldly prosperity in which he took delight so that he may know that earthly pleasure is vain, insubstantial, passing and uncertain, and that the celestial and invisible pleasure will be enduring.[2]

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[1]"Qui Lazarum resuscitasti a monumento fœtidum. Tu eis Domine dona requiem et locum indulgentiæ. Qui venturus es judicare vivos et mortuos et seculum per ignem."

[2]Rolle, D, iii^{v}: "Sed hunc elidit valde quia quem ad eterna bona destinauit: a carnali prosperitate in qua delectatur repente precipitat. vt terrena gaudia vana esse et insolida transeuncia et incerta. Celestia vero et

The antiphon for this lesson also turns the mind toward the eternal consequences of sin: "Lord, when thou comest to judge the earth, where shall I hide me from the face of thy wrath? For I have sinned exceedingly in my life. I dread my sins and before thee I am ashamed; when thou comest to judge do not condemn me."[1]

The fourth lesson is taken from a speech in which Job claims that his friends are wrong when they say that God inflicts suffering as a punishment for sin and, by implication, that suffering is evidence of sin (xiii, 4-7).[2] He goes on to offer his life for examination and to marvel that God should be pleased to harass a creature as insignificant as man. It is the latter portion of the speech which makes up this lesson:

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inuisibilia perpetuo mansura fore exinde cognoscat." The Book of Job was careful to establish the fact that Job did not delight in carnal prosperity, in order to dispute accepted ideas of the cause of suffering.

[1]"Domine quando veneris judicare terram ubi me abscondam a vultu iræ tuæ. Quia peccavi nimis in vita mea. Commissa mea pavesco et ante te erubesco dum veneris judicare noli me condemnare."

[2]Job is replying to a speech of Sophar's in which he asserted that God is aware of wicked actions and that being just He will undoubtedly punish them, although He will always restore a man who repents past wickedness, a course of action Sophar recommends to Job by picturing the pleasures which await him if he does (xi, 11-20). It is interesting that Job, while rejecting the idea of suffering as punishment for sin, warns his friends that God will punish them because they justify Him by lying about the nature of life as men experience it, and pronounce judgment on other men (xiii, 6-12). He may of course be showing implications of their theory for them without agreeing with them as in the Metrical Paraphrase he turns the tables on the friends by suggesting that the story of Lazarus and Dives might have in it a lesson for them too (ll. 14737-748).

> How many are my iniquities and sins? Make me know my crimes and offences. Why hidest thou thy face, and thinkest me thy enemy? Against a leaf, that is carried away with the wind, thou shewest thy power: and thou pursuest a dry straw. For thou writest bitter things against me, and wilt consume me for the sins of my youth. Thou hast put my feet in the stocks, and hast observed all my paths, and hast considered the steps of my feet: Who am to be consumed as rottenness, and as a garment that is moth-eaten.[1]
>
> (xiii, 23-28)

Rolle again provides evidence that the indignation which informs this speech in the Book of Job has been totally dissipated in the context of the Dirige. He does not see in the words "How many are my iniquities?" a challenge to God to specify the iniquities whose seriousness merits the kind of suffering Job is undergoing. Rather he sees the desire of the faithful soul to have his sins made known to him that he may repent of them before death and thus leave nothing to be purged after death.[2] It is obvious to Rolle, though it was far from obvious to Job, that God hides His face from the man who abandons himself to sins and does not rise out of them.[3] Rolle appreciates the criticism of God implicit in, "Against a leaf, that is

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[1]Although the words "Responde mihi" which in the modern office begin the fourth lesson do not occur in the Procter and Wordsworth edition of the Sarum Breviary nor in any of the fourteenth and fifteenth-century manuscripts of the English Prymer which I have seen, they must have occurred in some versions of this office including the one Rolle used since he discusses their implications (D, vi^{v}-E, i^{r}).

[2]Rolle, E, i^{v}: "Omnia sibi postulat ostendi. vt de omnibus poterat penitencia fieri. et de omnibus priusquam abeat et amplius non erit purgari."

[3]Ibid., E, i^{r}: "Cur faciem tuam abscondis. Et respondeat sibi. quia peccator sum. et in peccatis iaceo. et ab illis non resurgo."

carried away by the wind, thou shewest thy power: and thou pursuest a dry straw", for he says,

> O great and mighty God, why do you show your power against a silly leaf that is useful for nothing, for there is no great praise where the strong conquers the weak, the healthy the sick, God a leaf, but when the weak conquers the strong, the humble the tyrant, Christ overcomes Satan.[1]

He is so sure however that no such reproach can have been intended and that the patriarch was issuing a warning to men that he seeks and finds a better interpretation. He says,

> Let us examine this more profoundly that we may understand it more fully. By the leaf that is seized by the wind is to be understood unstable man who allows himself to be carried about by every breath of temptation. For the hearts of many are so wavering and without firmness bending to every vanity that, as soon as the wretched mind is driven by the wind of foolish glory or shameful wrath, or any other vice whatever, it turns at once impudently to pleasure and consent. That leaf is snatched from the tree of the church militant, because, when the faithful and Christian man had received the sacrament of baptism for himself, he stood forth on a good tree, but, caught as the years passed by greed, he flew to do the works of darkness as though driven with the wind. Therefore, against this leaf, that is the false Christian, seized by the wind of vanity, God shows his power.[2]

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[1]Rolle, E, iii^{r}: "O magne deus et fortis quid contra inane folium quod ad nichil vtile est: ostendis potentiam tuam: quia ibi non est immensa laus, vbi robustus debilem, sanus infirmum, deus folium superat. Sed quando infortis fortem, humilis tyrannum, Christus sathanam deuincat."

[2]Ibid.: "Scrutemur ergo profundius, vt plenius cognoscamus. Per folium quod vento rapitur: instabilis homo qui omni vento temptationis se sinit circumferri intelligatur. Multorom [sic] enim corda tam vacabunda sunt et sine firmitate flexibilia ad omnes vanitates: quod quam cito misera mens vento inanis glorie aut iracundie lasciuie aut alius cuiuscunque vicij impellitur. statim usque ad delectationem et consensum impudenter declinatur. Rapitur autem illud folium ab arbore ecclesie militantis. quia sibi suscepto baptismi sacramento

Thus what in the Book of Job was criticism of God has become praise, and the object of God's oppression has deservedly become the object of His wrath, one whose example gives due warning to others. The rest of the lesson lent itself to Rolle's reading which saw it as a warning of God's omniscience and overlooked the objection to God's treatment of His creatures implied in the suggestion that it could only be excused if He had human limitations. The antiphon which closes this lesson reads, "Woe to me Lord for I have sinned exceedingly in my life: What shall I, wretched one, do, whither shall I flee, but to thee, my God?"[1]

The fifth lesson is a lament for the shortness of life:

> Man, born of a woman, living for a short time, is filled with many miseries. Who cometh forth like a flower, and is destroyed, and fleeth as a shadow, and never continueth in the same state. And dost thou think it meet to open thy eyes upon such an one, and to bring him into judgment with thee? Who can make him clean that is conceived of unclean seed? Is it not thou who only art? The days of man are short, and the number of his months is with thee: thou hast appointed his bounds which cannot be passed. Depart a little from him, that he may rest, until his wished-for day come, as that of the hireling.

This passage contains one section which might be inter-

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fidelis et Christianus in bona arbore extitit. crescentibus annis captus a cupiditate ad opera tenebrarum facienda: quasi cum vento volauit. Igitur contra hoc folium, id est, falsum Christianum qui vento vanitatis rapitur: Deus potentiam suam ostendit."

[1]"Heu mihi Domine quia peccavi nimis in vita mea: quid faciam miser ubi fugiam nisi ad te Deus meus miserere mei. Dum veneris in novissimo die. Anima mea turbata est valde, sed tu Domine succurre ei."

preted as critical of God--"And dost thou think it meet to open thy eyes upon such an one, and to bring him into judgment with thee?" The mediaeval reader of this office however understood it as a reminder of judgment rather than a suggestion that to judge man was an action unbecoming to God, as Rolle's meditation shows. It is salutary warning, Rolle feels, to those who excuse their faults, unaware that if they strive with God in this fashion they can never satisfy one objection against them, or show one good action to answer the thousands of blessings God has conferred on man. God opens His eyes to let such men know that He sees impartially and is just.[1]

This explanation illustrates how the boldness with which Job explores the nature of existence can be adjusted to comply with a point of view that would see such boldness as blasphemy and approaches the words with the conviction that they cannot have been blasphemy.

The lesson closes with what might have been for mediaeval orthodoxy a mildly questionable verse, "Depart a

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[1]Rolle, F, iv^{v}-v^{r}: "Merito hec verba ad comitationem heminum [sic] sequentur. qui cum sint miseri. instabiles. inanes. Velut umbra transeuntes insuper et mendaces rapaces. superbi. maliciosi. multis miserijs culpe et pene repleti: tamen autenticant se iustos. et renuere impunitos. et plerumque promittunt se coram iudice audacter responsuros frustra extollentes semetipsos. et non attendentes illud quod scribitur. Si voluerit contendere cum deo: non poterit reddere ei unum pro mille [Job ix, 3]. Ac si aperte diceretur Deus homini mille beneficia contulit: vbi homo nec vnum bonum opus fecit. Igitur O domine deus qui sedes super tronum et iudicas iusticiam. Dignum ducis super huiuscemodi scilicet transgressionibus aperire oculos tuos. id est. ostendere quod oculi tui vident equitatem. quia ab illis clausi sunt qui non vident nec intelligunt quam iustus es."

little from him, that he may rest, until his wished-for day come, as that of a hireling." Following as it does the acknowledgment that man's days are short and their number appointed by God, its literal meaning conveys a request that God should not scrutinize too closely a life which is brief and, at best, a time of hard labour from which death alone gives release.[1] Rolle again gives evidence that the passage was understood quite differently. In his view Job asks God to withdraw a little, that is to punish man that he may rest from carnal and earthly avarice in future glory, escaping the more severe penalty which would be exacted in purgatory where the account must be paid in full.[2]

The antiphon which follows the fifth lesson is, "Remember not my sins, O Lord, when thou comest to judge the earth by fire. O Lord my God, direct my way in thy

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[1]Pope translates, "Look away from him, relent; Let him enjoy his hireling day" (p. 99); Dhorme, "Turn away from him Thy glance, and leave him alone, Until, like a hireling, he finishes his day's work!" (p. 197).

[2]Rolle, G, i[r]: "Recede paululum ab eo. id est. mitis esto in puniendo eum: quia nulla anima in purgatorio existens a pena perfecte liberatur: antequam totum debitum soluatur. Ideo hoc dicit. Recede etcetera. quia non est pena nisi a deo et iussu dei. Nam subdit vt quiescat. vt in spe. scilicet future glorie quiescamus a carnali et terrena cupidine. dum deus recedit. id est. nos carere facit conscientia mordente donec optata veniat. . . . ergo a nobis quos castigat in hoc mundo et ab hijs qui sunt in purgatorio deus recedit quando et hic et ibi micius punit et hoc est quod sequitur vt quiescat. id est. ad comperationem maioris cruciatus donec optata veniat. id est. donec perueniamus ad celestem gloriam quam optamus. vbi est perfecta quies. summa securitas. indefessa felicitas.

sight."[1] The change into the first person has the effect of causing the office to be applied to the one who says it and stresses the short time that remains to make certain that he will attain the "wished-for day" of entry into celestial rest.

The office omits the next six verses of the Book of Job, a passage in which Job contrasts the certainty of life's awakening again in a dead tree with the uncertainty of the fate of man after death. It continues in the sixth lesson:

> Who will grant me this, that thou mayst protect me in hell, and hide me till thy wrath pass, and appoint me a time when thou wilt remember me? Shall man that is dead, thinkest thou, live again? All the days in which I am now in warfare, I expect until my change come. Thou shalt call me, and I will answer thee: to the work of thy hands thou shalt reach out thy right hand. Thou indeed hast numbered my steps: but spare my sins.
>
> (xiv, 13-16)

The protection in hell which Job seeks is predictably explained by Rolle as the desire of the patriarchs who lived before Christ and are glad to remain in the upper part of hell until the Son of God has redeemed human nature for if they were to be subjected before that time to the anger of God they might be damned to eternal fire.[2]

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[1] "Ne recorderis peccata mea Domine. Dum veneris judicare seculum per ignem. Dirige Domine Deus meus in conspectu tuo viam meam."

[2] Rolle, G, ii^{r}: "Hec est vox antiquorum patrum expectancium aduentum christi filij dei ad redimendum naturam humanam. qui magis cupiebant protegi et abscondi in inferno. id est. in superiori parte inferni. scilicet. in limbo vbi erant pene tenebrarum: sed non ignium. quam videre deum iratum et iudicantem. quia tunc forsitan dampnasset eos ad ignem eternum."

The more awkward question, from the point of view of a society which saw Job as the prophet of the resurrection, was, "Shall man that is dead thinkest thou, live again?" The Church Fathers usually interpreted this as expressing contempt for the notion that anyone should think so little of man as to answer in the negative[1] but Rolle explains it as an allegorical reference to sinners and urges that even those who are as dead through guilt should not despair because if they try to rise from sin through penitence God will restore them to life through his grace.[2] The rest of the lesson lends itself to this interpretation, suggesting that the struggle is being undertaken and picturing the gracious assistance of God.

The antiphon which follows reads,

> Lord, judge me not according to my deeds, nothing worthy have I done in thy sight. Therefore, I pray thy majesty that thou, God, do away my wickedness, wash me fully, Lord, from my unrighteousness and cleanse me from my sin, for to thee only have I sinned.[3]

The passage which makes up the seventh lesson is taken from the second half of Job's next speech where after reproaching the friends as "troublesome comforters"

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[1] See above, pp. 139-142.

[2] Rolle, G, iii^{v}: "Quia et si mortui fuerimus per culpam: nequaquam desperemus. Sed pocius a contagijs surgere conemur per penitentiam. et viuificabit nos deus noster per suam graciam."

[3] "Domine secundum actum meum noli me judicare: nihil dignum in conspectu tuo egi. Ideo deprecor majestatem tuam ut tu Deus deleas iniquitatem meam. Amplius lava me Deus ab injusticia mea, et a delicto meo munda me quia tibi soli peccavi."

he contemplates his present misery and the doleful prospect for the future and continues:

> My spirit shall be wasted: my days shall be shortened: and only the grave remaineth for me. I have not sinned: and my eye abideth in bitterness. Deliver me, O Lord, and set me beside thee: and let any man's hand fight against me. My days have passed away, my thoughts are dissipated, tormenting my heart. They have turned night into day: and after darkness I hope for light again. If I wait, hell is my house: and I have made my bed in darkness. I have said to rottenness: Thou art my father: to worms, My mother and my sister. Where is now then my expectation and my patience? Thou art, Lord my God.
>
> (xvii, 1-3, 11-15)

This is interesting for the departures it makes from the text of the Vulgate in omitting "who considers" from the rhetorical question "Where is now then my expectation: and who considereth my patience?" and changing its rhetorical nature by supplying the answer "Thou art, Lord my God." Concerning this addition Rolle says, "I did not find this in the Bible, but yet they conclude well, for God is the expectation of the just, through whom also they have patience."[1] The change draws from the verse its hopelessness and doubt as to the value of striving to live virtuously and puts in its place a steadfast reliance in the trustworthiness of God.

A more challenging problem for orthodoxy is presented by the verse "I have not sinned: and my eye abideth in bitterness." Rolle faces the contradiction this offers to Job's earlier words, "I have sinned"

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[1]Rolle, I, ii[r]: "Non inueni in biblia: set tamen bene concludunt. quia deus est expectacio iustorum: per quem et habent pacienciam."

(Lesson one, Job vii, 20),[1] and solves both the contradiction and the problem of a man's claiming that he has not sinned. Job, he explains, has not sinned in that he has never consented to mortal sin as a man does who gives himself up to it freely and fearlessly. He can therefore dare to say he has not sinned. He confesses however that he is a sinner in the sense that he is frail and unstable and prone to sin unless supported by the grace of God.[2]

This lesson is followed by the antiphon,

> Sinning daily and not repenting, the dread of death troubles me, for in hell there is no redemption have mercy on me, O God, and save me. God in thy name make me safe, Lord, and in thine excellence deliver me.[3]

The eighth lesson includes the passage which made up the first antiphon and reads,

> The flesh being consumed, my bone hath cleaved to my skin, and nothing but lips are left about my teeth. Have pity on me, have pity on me, at least you my friends, because the hand of the Lord hath touched me. Why do you persecute me as God, and glut yourselves

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[1]Rolle, H, iii^{v}: "Non peccaui. Hic oritur questio. Superius dixit. Peccaui . . . quomodo ergo se facit contrarium sibi. quia hic dicit. non peccaui."

[2]Ibid., H, iii^{v}: "Sic ergo intellige. Non peccaui. idest. peccato mortali non consentiui. Verum ipse peccator proprie dicitur. qui vult peccare. Et cum facultatem peccandi habuerit: se libenter et intrepide ad peccandum redit. Et ideo cum vir iustus in innocencia sua absque libidine. absque peccandi voluntate a primeua etate permanserit: audacter dicit. Non peccaui. scilicet mortaliter: et tamen se fatetur peccatorem. idest fragilem. infirmum et ad malum pronum nisi gracia christi fulceatur."

[3]"Peccantem me quotidie et non pœnitentem timor mortis conturbat me. Quia in inferno nulla est redemptio miserere mei Deus et salva me. Deus in nomine tuo salvum me fac Domine, et in veritate tua libera me." The word "veritate" is unusual here. The modern office uses "virtute" and the English versions of the Prymer all use "vertu" to translate it.

> with my flesh? Who will grant me that my words may be written? Who will grant me that they may be marked down in a book, With an iron pen and in a plate of lead, or else be graven with an instrument in flint stone? For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and in the last day I shall rise out of the earth. And I shall be clothed again with my skin: and in my flesh I shall see God my Saviour. Whom I myself shall see, and my eyes shall behold; and not another. This my hope is laid up in my bosom.[1]
>
> (xix, 20-27)

Rolle's interpretation of the latter part of this lesson ("For I know . . . in my bosom") is consistent with that of the early Church Fathers[2] and indeed with the literal meaning of the words as they stand in the Vulgate, for he says that these words make it clear that the patriarchs had the true faith concerning the redemption of the human race and the resurrection of the body.[3] He has difficulty however with the first sentence,[4] though it is not clear why he should not have taken it at face value as a reference to the illness that had reduced Job to "skin and bones". Instead he offers a series of allegorical readings. The skin is the love that good men have for God and

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[1]The Procter and Wordsworth edition differs from the Vulgate and the modern office in reading "et in carne mea videbo Deum Salvatorem meum" while they omit "salvatorem". The word "saviour" occurs in all the manuscripts of the English Prymer and in both Wycliffite versions.

[2]See above, pp. 137-139.

[3]Rolle, I, vi^{v}: "Hic patet quod veram fidem antiqui patres habuerunt de humani generis redempcione. ac de carnis resurrectione."

[4]Ibid., I, ii^{r}: "Dura verba sunt hec et pene penetrabilia ad medullam si pertingamus. vix quoque ab alijs mortalibus ad liquidum exponuntur."

man, that is true charity which hides shameful deeds.[1] In bad men it is their imperfect conversation, and the statement that it clings to the bones is to be understood as referring to the trust such men put in bodily strength and riches.[2] Thus although the words of this lesson would seem to have lent themselves most readily to the purpose of the office it presented nearly as much of a problem as some whose meaning in the context of the Book of Job seems almost diametrically opposed to that purpose.

The lesson concludes with an antiphon, in which there are echoes of that which followed the second lesson, "Lord, grant thou them endless rest and let everlasting light shine upon them. Thou Lord, that raised Lazarus stinking from the grave, grant them rest."[3]

The final lesson drops from the serenity with which the previous one ended and reflects a distaste for life and a fear of death. It reads,

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[1]Rolle, I, ii^{r}: "Per pellem igitur que carnem et sanguinem tegit: caritas dei et proximi que operit multitudinem peccatorum intelligatur. Sicut pellis hominis dum non vulneratur vel grauiter non percutitur. sub se continet carnem et sanguinem. et humano visui quasi inuisibiles reddit: sic vera caritas ab oculis vindicte omnipotentis dei omnia flagicia nostra abscondit."

[2]Ibid., I, ii^{r-v}: "Vel per pellem . . . conversio hominis potest intelligi. . . . Hec est species spiritualis quę per pellem insinuatur. . . . Sed vere iam pauci sunt qui hanc ostendunt. Immo de ipsis [clericis] quia turpem pellem habent . . . id est sua dampnabilis vita. Adhesit ossibus eorum. id est. sue fortitudini corporali quia superbe viuunt in diuicijs."

[3]"Requiem æternam dona eis Domine. Et lux perpetua luceat eis. Qui Lazarum resuscitasti a monumento fœtidum, tu eis Domine dona requiem."

> Why didst thou bring me forth out of the womb? O that I had been consumed that eye might not see me! I should have been as if I had not been, carried from the womb to the grave. Shall not the fewness of my days be ended shortly? Suffer me that I may lament my sorrow a little, Before I go, and return no more: to a land that is dark and covered with the mist of death: A land of misery and darkness, where the shadow of death, and no order, but everlasting horror dwelling.
>
> (x, 18-22)

The accepted view of this lesson may have been reflected in the contrast which Rolle makes between it and the one which preceded it. Of it he says,

> These words demand sorrow rather than an explanation, but we are compelled to say something on this lesson, lest we seem either entirely silent or ignorant. It must be known therefore that as in the preceding lesson are beautifully described the security and rejoicing of heaven, so also in this lesson is shown the despair and sorrow of the damnable.[1]

By returning to chapter x for this final lesson the office closes with the picture of hell which Job paints there and thus stresses the theme of judgment and its eternal consequences that was one of its major concerns. The same theme is sustained in the antiphon following:

> Deliver me, Lord, from endless death, in that dreadful day when the heavens and the earth shall be moved, when thou shalt come to judge the world by fire. That day shall be a day of wrath and of wretchedness and misery, a great day and very bitter. What shall I most wretched do then, what shall I say or what shall I do when I shall show forth no goodness before so

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[1]Rolle, K, iii^{r}: "Hec verba dolorem pocius exigunt: quam exposicionem. Sed tamen aliqua super hanc lectionem loqui cogimur: Ne omnino aut tacentes aut nescientes videamur. Sciendum est ergo quod in precedente lectione de securitate et gaudio sanctorum pulcre describitur. ita et in hac lectione de desperacione et dolore dampnabilium manifestatur."

> great a judge. When thou shalt come to judge the world by fire.[1]

"The Canticle of Judgment" which accompanies the reading of the office on All Souls' Day is, as its name implies, also concerned with this subject. It reads,

> Now, Christ, we ask thee, have mercy we beseech thee, thou that came to buy us that were lost, do not condemn them that thou hast bought. When thou shalt come to judge the world by fire. Burning souls weep without end, walking in darkness, and they say, each of them, Woe, woe, woe, how great is the darkness [wherein we go]. When thou shalt come to judge the world by fire. Maker of all things, God that formed me of the slime of the earth, and wonderfully with thine own blood hast bought, though my body rot now thou shalt make it rise from the grave on the day of doom. Hear me, hear me, and command my soul to be put in the bosom of Abraham thy patriarch. When thou shalt come to judge the world by fire. Deliver me, Lord, from the ways of hell, thou that broke the gates of brass and visited hell and gave light to them that they that were in the pains of darkness might see thee, crying and saying, Thou art come, our Redeemer. May they rest in peace.[2]

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[1] "Libera me Domine de morte æterna in die illa tremenda. Quando cæli movendi sunt et terra. Dum veneris judicare seculum per ignem. Dies illa dies irae calamitatis et miseriæ: dies magna et amara valde. Quando cæli movendi sunt et terra. Quid ergo misorrimus quid dicam vel quid faciam dum nil boni perferam ante tantum judicem? Dum veneris judicare seculum per ignem."

[2] "Nunc Christe te petimus miserere quæsumus qui venisti redimere perditos: noli damnare redemptos. Dum veneris judicare seculum per ignem. Ardentes animæ flent sine fine ambulantes per tenebras dicuntque singulæ Væ væ væ: quantæ sunt tenebræ [in quo imus]. Dum veneris judicare seculum per ignem. Creator omnium rerum Deus, qui me de lymo terræ formasti et mirabiliter proprio sanguine redemisti, corpusque meum licet modo putrescat, de sepulchro facias in die judicii resuscitari, exaudi exaudi me et animam meam in sinu Abrahæ patriarchæ tui jubeas collocari. Dum veneris judicare seculum per ignem. Libera me Domine de viis inferni. Qui portas æreas confregisti, et visitasti infernum, et dedisti eis lumen ut viderent te qui erant in pœnis tenebrarum. Clamantes et dicentes Advenisti Redemptor noster. Requiescant in pace." I have here and in Appendix C started the "Canticle of Judgment" at "Nunc Christe" since the St. John's

Because they formed part of the Dirige these lessons became some of the best known sections of the Book of Job. In addition, because the overall outlook and significance of the office was so different from the book which provided its lessons, modifications were inevitably introduced into the meaning of these passages. They were associated with death and with the view of death prevalent at the time and so the words tended to be understood as expressing that view. When quoted therefore they retained the meaning which they had acquired from the Dirige. In addition the new meaning coloured the impression held of the speaker and this modified idea of Job was read back into the Book of Job giving an altered understanding of other aspects of the book and causing Job to be quoted as saying things not from the Bible but from the Office of the Dead.

MS G.24 begins it with this, repeating the final portion of the last antiphon (see Littlehale's edition, I, 88). This section both ended the antiphon and began the "Canticle". The phrase "in quo imus" seems to be required for the Middle English translations of the office.

CHAPTER IX

THE DIRIGE IN LITERATURE

The Office of the Dead was frequently offered in churches and consequently was extremely well known. As a result the lessons of the Dirige, its Matins, became part of the common heritage of Middle English writers and allusions to them are plentiful in their works. Two poems, the "Pety Job" and "The Lessouns of the Dirige", paraphrase and comment on these lessons, "A Tretyse of Parce Michi, Domine!"[1] uses as its refrain the words which open the first lesson, and "The Lament of the Soul of Edward IV"[2] takes for its refrain the closing words of that lesson, "ecce nunc in puluere dormio", and opens with the first words of the eighth lesson, "Miserimini mei, ye that ben my ffryndys." In a poem called "For Jake Napes Sowle, Placebo and Dirige", Latin tags from both these offices are parcelled out to the various mourners for the Duke of Suffolk, as bishops, abbots and gentry are called on to come at "this Ioyfull tyme" and join in the obsequies.[3] In addition quotations from the lessons are frequently encountered in works not otherwise identified with the office.

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[1]These three poems are printed in Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, pp. 107-149.

[2]Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century, pp. 250-253.

[3]Political, Religious and Love Poems, pp. 6-11.

Almost without exception the portions of the Book of Job which make up the Dirige are altered in meaning when they are introduced into Middle English literature. To be sure "The Lessouns of the Dirige" makes a simple paraphrase of "How many are my iniquities and sins? Make me know my crimes and offences. Why hidest thou thy face, and thinkest me thy enemy?" (xiii, 23-24, lesson four) when it says,

> Als many wykkednesse and trespas
> And synnes withoute noumbre mo
> Shew me; why hydest þy fas
> fro me, and demest me þy fo?
> Lord, þenkes þe solace
> This turment, and do me wo?
> A drope of thy mercie of oyle of grace,
> Lord, graunte me er y go.[1]
> (ll. 129-132)

and the context does not strain the implications away from the significance of this complaint in the Book of Job. The "Pety Job" too does no violence to "My days have passed away, my thoughts are dissipated, tormenting my heart" (xvii, 11, lesson seven) when it says,

> My dayes, lorde, passed are,
> And olde I am, I am no faunt.
> My thoughtes wandre wyde whare,
> ffor they ben, lorde, full variaunte.
> Myne herte they greuyn wonder sare,
> ffor euer aboute hym they haunte.[2]
> (ll. 469-474)

The Metrical Paraphrase also has made what amounts to straight versification of "Man, born of a woman, living for a short time, is filled with miseries. Who cometh

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[1] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 111.

[2] Ibid., p. 136.

forth like a flower, and is destroyed, and fleeth as a shadow, and never continueth in the same state" (xiv, 1-2, lesson five) when it says,

> homo natus de muliere,
> he says a man of A woman born,
> hic breui viuens tempore,
> in lytyll tym his lyf is for lorn,
> And fylled with fayndyngs sall he be
> and with myschefes mydday and morn,
> Ryȝt os A flour is fayr to se
> and sone wast als yt was be forn,[1]

although the poem has given these words of Job to Eliphaz who cites them as advice which "bokes makes in mynd" and uses them to urge Job to be patient. The homily "De Santa Andrea" also uses part of this passage, developing it but without distortion, when it says,

> Qui fugit uelut umbra et nunquam in eodem statu permanet. He is fleonde alse shadewe and ne stont neure on one stede. Ac sigeð eure fro ȝuweðe to helde. fro hele to unhele. fro wenliche to ateliche. fro lieue to loðe. fro wurðe to unwurðe. fro blisse to sorinesse. fro lehtre to wope. fro wele to wowe. and attan ende fro liue to deaðe.[2]

The use which other works make of this passage however illustrates the slight adjustment which the text has undergone as the authors considered it, not in its original context, but in the context of the Dirige.

The Pricke of Conscience paraphrases the passage quite accurately in one place but it has become a warning rather than a simple statement of fact. The poem says,

> . . . a man may likend be
> Til a flour, þat es fayre to se,

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[1] Metrical Old Testament, ll. 14917-924.

[2] Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century, 2nd ser., p. 175.

Þan son aftir þat it es forth broght,
Welkes and dwynes til it be noght;
Þis aught to be ensample til us;
For-whi Iob, in a boke says þus:
. . . . . .
"Man", he says, "als a flour bright,
First forth comes here til þis light,
And es sone broken and passes away,
Als a shadu on þe somers day;
And never mare in þe same state duelles,"
Bot ay passand, als Iob telles.[1]

On another occasion when it alludes to this passage the purpose is again admonition. Man must not allow himself to be deceived by present health and strength:

A man þat es yhung and light,
Be he never swa stalworth and wyght,
And comly of shap, lufly and fayre,
Angers and yvels may hym appayre,
And his beuté and his strength abate,
And mak hym in ful wayk state,
And chaunge alle fayre colour,
Þat son fayles and fades, als dos þe flour.
For a flour þat semes fayre and bright,
Thurgh stormes fades, and tynes þe myght.[2]

Although there is little departure from the text in another place when Job is reported as saying,

. . . Man þat born es of woman
Lyfand short time to ful-fild es þan
Of many maners of wrechednes,[3]

the context suggests that because of this man must not live this life as though it were all and that he must not esteem himself too highly. Neither of these senses is present in the original where Job is simply attempting to show how unbecoming it is for God to mar the few years man has with undue exactness in examining his conduct. Such

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[1] The Pricke of Conscience, I, 704-717.

[2] Ibid., 688-690.

[3] Ibid., 534-537.

alterations in the target of the admonition are typical of the treatment which poetry gives to these passages which form part of the Dirige.

The "Pety Job" expands the text and adds a warning that contrasts the shortness of life with the length of eternity. It says,

> Mennes dayes ben shorte, beware,
> And therto take good entente;
> ffor in respyte of tyme euermare
> They beth nothyng equipolent.
> The nombre of hys monthes are
> Alwey at the, lorde, verament.
> Oure lyfe ys nought but sorow and care
> Tyll we be passed iugement.[1]
> (11. 337-344)

"The Lessouns of the Dirige" intensifies the risks of man's life, saying,

> Man, that is of woman born,
> Lyuynge short tyme he is.
> Er his nauel be knytte and shorn,
> ffulfilde with many wrechidnes.
> Er he fro moder be forborn,
> In peryl of deth, bothe partie es.[2]
> (11. 169-174)

but is more concerned to point out that if the flesh is lord, the soul is lost (11. 175-176).[3] A Middle English sermon which uses the same passage introduces it by saying,

> And so þe wisdom of þis world purveys and ordeyns all for þis shorte tyme and not for þat at shall comm. þis mischefe sawe Iob well when þat he seid þus, . . . a man is borne of a womman, lyvynge but a shorte tyme, fulfilled with muche wrechednes.[4]

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[1] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 132.

[2] Ibid., p. 113.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Middle English Sermons, p. 106.

It has therefore shifted and in fact misreported Job's meaning for Job intended only a complaint against the nature of life, before marvelling that God should concern Himself with the virtues or vices of so transient a being as man. The author of "Of þre messagers of deeth" is closer to Job's intention when it says,

> Þe Mon þat is of wommon I-bore,
> His lyf nis heere but a þrowe--
> So seiþ Iob vs heer-bi-fore
> Al in a Bok þat I wel knowe.
> He heede is Muynde al of his deþ
> Wel sore he con grone and grunte,
> And seide his lyf nas bote a Breþ
> Heer mou we none stounde stunte.[1]
> (ll. 1-8)

One suspects however that the author thought this groaning and grunting was for sins which might make death bitter to Job rather than for life's wretchedness and brevity which was its cause in the Book of Job.

The shortness of life was a topic which the Middle English writers could put to good account and the expressions of it in these lessons from the Dirige were used frequently but generally with some adjustment in meaning. The "Pety Job" takes, "Spare me, O Lord, for my days are nothing" (vii, 16, lesson one), develops the latter part into

> The sothe I sey now sykerly,
> That my dayes nought they are;
> ffor though I be bryght of ble,
> The fayrest man that ys oughware,

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[1] The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS, Pt. II, 443.

Yet shall my fayrenesse fade and fle,
And I shalbe wormes ware.[1]
(ll. 2-7)

and by the insertion of the word "soul" in the opening line "Lyef lord, my soule thow spare" (l. 1)[2] shifts the import of the brevity of life from Job's request not to be tormented during his short life to an acknowledgement that no trust is to be placed in the fleeting things of this world and that the best use of life is as an interval in which to obtain mercy. "The Lessouns of the Dirige" makes a similar adjustment when it says, "my dayes werkys ben noȝt" (l. 2, italics mine). Later, meditating on the words "Shall not the fewness of my days be ended shortly?" (x, 20, lesson nine), the "Pety Job" says that since he must leave this world its wiles do not please him although they tempt him to sin (ll. 649-658).[3] A preacher too, in a sermon on the same text, urges his congregation that in view of the shortness of man's life they should do good not only on holidays but every day.[4] Thus they gently

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[1]Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 121. The Metrical Paraphrase catches almost the exact tone Job uses in the Book of Job in this verse, but makes use of only the first part of it:

Nunc parce mihi, domine,
lord god þat gyfes gudnes and grace,
lord, in þi myȝt haue mynd of me
and spare me, lord, A lytyll space;
And of my payns, lord, haue pyte
and teche me forto take þi trace,
So þat I myȝt haue mynd of þe
to tell my counsayle in þis case.
(ll. 14941-948)

[2]Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 121.

[3]Ibid., p. 142.

[4]Middle English Sermons, p. 21.

apply the text to an adjacent but not identical significance.

Some of the utterances of Job which found their way into the Dirige stressed the mortal nature of man and made assertions of it effective by imagery which showed man's resemblance in this respect to the lowest forms of life, the most transient things about him. The poets who used the material in the Dirige had a similar purpose. The active awareness of death gave point to their sense of the urgency of preparing for an eternal reckoning, but they could also extend the implications of such images to express another theme which engrossed them, the vanity of man's conception of himself.

Both ideas are introduced by Middle English writers in their treatment of the verse, "Remember, I beseech thee, that thou hast made me as the clay, and thou wilt bring me into dust again" (x, 9, lesson three). The Pricke of Conscience for example urges its readers to become as little children that they may enter the kingdom of heaven and, to bring them to a proper state of humility, reminds them that they are made of foul matter, earth and clay which the wind can scatter, and continues,

> And þarfor Iob þus to God spekes:
> Memento, queso, quod sicut lutum feceris
> me, et in pulverem reduces me.
> He says, "thynk, Laverd, þat als þow made me
> Foul erthe and clay here to be,
> Right swa þou sal turne me agayne
> Til erthe and poudre;" þis es certayn.[1]

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[1] The Pricke of Conscience, I, 411-419.

"The Lessouns of the Dirige" uses the words as a reminder of man's mortality and liability to sin (ll. 73-78),[1] and the "Pety Job" as an acknowledgement of God's power and right to order all things as He wishes (ll. 157-166).[2]

An adjustment can be seen in the Middle English treatment of Job's words, "I have said to rottenness: Thou art my father: to worms, My mother and my sister" (xvii, 14, lesson seven). In "The Lessouns of the Dirige" this is simply paraphrased and the poet says,

> I sayde to stynke and rotenesse,
> 'My fader and moder arn ȝe;'
> And to wormes y sayde þysse:
> 'My systren and my brethern both be ȝe.'
> And erthe claymeþ me for hysse.[3]
> (ll. 267-271)

The "Pety Job" however after having said

> To roten erthe, ryght thus sayde I,
> "Thow art my fader of whom I cam,"
> And vnto wormes sekurly,
> "Thow art my moder, thy son I am:
> My systren all ye bene, for why,
> None other then ye, forsoth I am."
> I shall call hem sustres, lo, for thy,
> ffor I shall roote amonge hem,[4]
> (ll. 505-512)

goes on to comment, "Of the lowest erthe god made Adam,/Of whyche my kynde I had, as he" (ll. 513-514).[5] Thus he extends the metaphor to a meaning not in Job. When "þe Spore of Loue" uses the imagery of the same passage it

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[1] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 110.

[2] Ibid., p. 126.

[3] Ibid., p. 116.

[4] Ibid., p. 137.

[5] Ibid.

makes the point of man's contemptible origin even more clearly, advising,

> Mon, schuldest þou not so muche rekke
> Of þi-self þen of anoþer,
> ffor Rot is þi ffader, worm þi broþer,
> ffor geȝndred he is riht of þe same
> As þou.[1]
>
> (ll. 64-68)

The "Pety Job" makes a similar extension in the meaning of the verse, "Who am to be consumed as rottenness, and as a garment that is moth-eaten" (xiii, 28, lesson four). Having versified this as, "The whyche as rotyng shall consume,/And fare as mowthe eten cloth" (ll. 277-278), it continues,

> And as from the fyre departeth fume,
> So body and soule asundre goth.
> I am made of a lothly hume;
> Hit ys a thyng to man most loth.
> Whereof than shulde I presume
> To be hygh-herted or lyghtly wroth?[2]
>
> (ll. 279-284)

Thus the poet adjusts the words which Job used to challenge God's reasonableness in maintaining so strict an invigilation as He does over man's actions, to prompt an awareness of man's innate negligibility. He makes a similar adjustment of Job's resigned, "Behold, now I shall sleep in the dust: and if thou seek me in the morning I shall not be" (vii, 21, lesson one). After having said,

> Loo, in pouder I shall slepe,
> ffor owte of poudere furst I cam,
> And into poudere must I crepe,
> ffor of that same kynde I am.[3]
>
> (ll. 73-76)

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[1] The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS, Pt. I, 270.

[2] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 130.

[3] Ibid., p. 123.

he continues,

> That I ne am pouder I may not threpe,
> ffor erthe I am, as was Adam;
> And nowe my pytte ys doluen depe.
> Though men me seke, ryght nought I am.[1]
> (ll. 77-80)

and so is able to use the verse as the basis for calling to mind death and the lowly origin of man. Acknowledgement of mortality is present in the words as they are found in the Book of Job, but here it is an acknowledgement which amounts almost to an accusation of God for His oppression of man. The other meanings which the poets added to this acknowledgement stem from the adaptation of this passage made by the Dirige, where it is isolated from the context of Job's protest against God's treatment of him and provided with a setting dominated by the sense of sin and fear of sin's consequences.

The adjustments which the authors of the "Pety Job" and "The Lessouns of the Dirige" make in the passage, "What is man that thou shouldst magnify him? Or why dost thou set thy heart upon him?" (vii, 17, lesson one), show that they are viewing it in the context of the liturgy rather than of scripture, although their alterations differ. In the Book of Job the words are ironic since Job, while marvelling at the importance which God attaches to man, has found that attention expressed towards himself in the loss of his property, his children and his health. Taken out of this context and placed in the setting of the

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[1] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 123.

Dirige the words no longer contain irony and can be accepted at face value, although they encounter a little difficulty when the passage continues with the statement that God not only visits man early in the morning--which might be evidence of having set His heart on man--but that God also proves man suddenly. Nevertheless even this can be viewed as a benevolent, if taxing, activity and the transition of meaning from the bitterness of the Book of Job to the gratitude of the Dirige can be considered accomplished. Both the poems however make a further alteration so that it is not now God who magnifies man, but man who magnifies himself. "The Lessouns of the Dirige" says, "What is man of gret renoun,/That of hym self makeþ aldre mest?" (ll. 9-10),[1] and the "Pety Job" develops this further saying,

> What ys a man, wete I wolde,
> That magnifyeth hymself alway,
> But a marke, made in molde,
> Of a clyngyng clot of clay?[2]
> (ll. 13-16)

"The Lessouns of the Dirige" however deals with the rest of the passage in a way which is puzzling. It continues,

> Why settyst þou þy herte aȝen resoun,
> And sodeynly repreuest hem mest?
> In þe dawenynge þou souȝtest hem vpsodoun.
> Contrary to godis hest
> þou purchasest þy saule helle prisoun;
> For fleschely lust, wormes fest.[3]
> (ll. 11-16)

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[1] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 108.

[2] Ibid., p. 121.

[3] Ibid., p. 108.

We are dealing here with a poet of no great distinction but if we take God as the antecedent of the pronoun "þou" in this passage we are confronted with the unlikely assertion that God has set Himself against reason. This is not totally unlikely in the Book of Job where the hero makes accusations against God which are quite as daring, but that "The Lessouns" should take this tone is improbable. The suspicion thus roused is confirmed when we find that the "þou" who acts thus goes on to behave contrary to God's behest in proving "hem" in the morning. It seems therefore that the poet has foundered on the difficulty referred to above, that sudden testing is strange evidence of God's benevolence, and has solved it by making the sudden testing the action of a man of great renown who considers himself superior to others and tests them early in the morning, thus setting his heart against reason. This may seem a more careful explication than the poem merits, but the purpose here is to examine the poetry to discover the use which Middle English literature made of the Book of Job and this poem illustrates well the theological hazards in the Book of Job which caused the literature to present it in a guise so different from that in the Bible.

The words of the Dirige, it seems, caused these writers to view man as a creature who might very well merit to spend eternity in hell and the fear that this might come to pass caused them to use Job's expressions as the ground for meditation on this subject. "Thou writest bitter things against me, and wilt consume me for the sins

of my youth" (xiii, 26, lesson four) lent itself to such a function. Although Job was probably thinking of the disease which was sapping away his life as the disproportionate punishment for the sins of his youth, his words could easily be extended when they occurred in the Dirige to signify youthful peccadilloes not wiped out by repentance. Thus the "Pety Job" says,

> Thow wrytest, lord, ayenst me
> Bytternesse, that I shall rede,
> At domesday, in syght of the,
> And all the worlde in length and brede.
> That I dyd in pryuyte,
> There opynly hit owte shall sprede;
> And thys thow wylt full well y-se,
> And distroy me for my wyked dede.[1]
> (ll. 253-260)

and The Pricke of Conscience predicts a similarly humiliating public exposure when it describes the coming judgment,

> Þe devels at þe dome sal be redy,
> Þat to tempte men here ay er bysy;
> And þai write alle syns, bathe les and mar,
> Of whylk þai may accuse þam þar,
> And alle syns þai sal reherce þan,
> And þar-for þus says Iob, þe halyman:
> Scribis Domine contra me amaritudines,
> id est, permittis scribi contra me peccata amara.
> "Loverd, þou suffers here", says he,
> "Be writen bitter syns ogaynes me."[2]

Later the poem also dwells on the inevitability of man's being led into judgment and comments,

> And þarfor says Iob on þis manere:
> Et consumere ne [sic] vis peccatis adolescencie mee.
> "Loverd wil þou waste me to noght,
> Thurgh þe syns þat I haf wroght."[3]

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[1] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 129.

[2] The Pricke of Conscience, V, 5488-497.

[3] Ibid., 5721-724.

The adjustment of Job's ideas to the significance which they took on in the Dirige is also seen in the poets' interpretation of his question, "Who will grant me this, that thou mayst protect me in hell, and hide me till thy wrath pass, and appoint me a time when thou wilt remember me" (xiv, 13, lesson six). This is part of Job's musings on the possibility of the dead's being restored to life. To him hell is a place of negative existence in this verse and he wonders whether man has any reason to suppose that he enters such a state at death rather than being totally dissolved. Can anyone, he asks, assure him that God will preserve him in this twilight existence until His wrath has passed and then restore him to life. A life after death would redress the injustices of this, and he would like to be assured that such a life can be expected. For the Middle English poets however the hope seems to have been that man might escape notice on the Day of Judgment and so be spared the fate he merits. Thus The Pricke of Conscience quotes and interprets the passage,

> And yhit says Iob on þis manere:
> Quis michi hoc tribuat
> ut in inferno protegas me,
> et abscondas me donec
> pertranseat furor tuus?
> "Loverd, wha may gyf to me", says he,
> "Þat þou in helle may hyd me
> And cover me at þe dredful day,
> Unto þi wrethe be passed oway,"
> Þan es it na wondre, als I sayde are
> If þe synful men haf drede and care,
> Þat sal dampned be and peryst
> For to cum in þe syght of Ihesu Crist,
> Þat til þam swa wrethful sal seme þan,
> When Job þus says þe halyman.[1]

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[1] The Pricke of Conscience, V, 5094-108.

"The Lessouns of the Dirige" attaches something like Job's meaning to the words, hoping to remain in a painless part of hell until body and soul are again united (ll. 219-222).[1] The "Pety Job" however views the whole prospect with fear and gloom, looking in vain for protection from God's wrath in hell and, strangely enough, in heaven too, for it says,

> Who to me may yeue or graunte,
> ffor loue or any affeccioun,
> ffro thy wrathe that ys duraunte,
> I may haue my proteccioun?
> In helle yef I be concurraunte,
> There am I in subieccioun.
> In heuen though thow woldest me haunte,
> Yet there am I at thy correccioun.
> . . . . . .
> And thow woldest a tyme ordeyne
> In whyche thow woldest of me haue mynde,
> With som solace me to susteyne,
> That of thy blysse am so fere behynde.[2]
> (ll. 373-388)

Such is the terror which pervades the "Pety Job's" meditation on these portions of the Book of Job that a passage in which Job imagines a possible future reconciliation with God, a passage for which "The Lessouns of the Dirige" retains the same tone in its rendering,

> Lord, þou shalt clepe me,
> And I shal answere to þe, werk of þyn hande.
> Werk of þy riȝt hand, take to þe;
> þou shalt not bynde it in helle bande,[3]
> (ll. 235-238)

is in the "Pety Job" reproduced as

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[1] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 114.

[2] Ibid., p. 133.

[3] Ibid., p. 115.

Thow shalt me call at domesday,
When thow art set on iugement,
And I to the, wythouten delay,
Shall yeue my answere verament.[1]
(ll. 421-424)

Indeed the confident trust of Job's great prediction which "The Lessouns of the Dirige" gives as,

I byleue þat soth y say,
Myn aȝeynbyere lyuynge isse.
I shal rysen of þe erthe my laste day,
Bylapped in my flesch and skyn ywisse;
Byholde with myn eyȝen twey,
Se god, my sauyour, in blisse;
Non other eyȝen bote þes, withouten nay;
Þe hope in my bosom yput vp isse.[2]
(ll. 299-306)

becomes in the "Pety Job" a fearful,

I wote ryght well that myn redemptour
Lyueth yet, and lyue shall aye,
And I shall ryse, I not what oure,
Oute of the erthe on domysdaye,
And take to me my furst coloure,
In flesshe and felle, clad on clay.
And so shall I see my sauyour
Deme the worlde in wondre aray.
The wikked than, withouten delay,
As arowes, to helle they shullen fle.
Lorde, that I go nat that way,
So Parce michi, domine![3]
(ll. 589-600)

Even though the prospect of life after death, so doubtful in the Book of Job, becomes a certainty in the "Pety Job" (ll. 397-398), it becomes a terrifying prospect as the poet says that he will come to life again,

. . . and that in a wonderful wyse,
With flesshe and felle, bloode and bones.
Than shal god hys dome deuyse,
And to hym take the good att ones;

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[1]Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 134.

[2]Ibid., p. 117.

[3]Ibid., p. 140.

But dampned soules shullen sore gryse,
And yeue a shoute with hydous grones.
Thys make they shull wofull mones,
All that shullen dampned be,
That I may dwelle withyn the wones
Of Parce michi, domine![1]
(ll. 399-408)

It would seem that this intrusion of fearfulness into words which in the Book of Job express a momentary conviction of confidence and hope may have been provoked by the tone of the antiphon which precedes this lesson and which begins, "Sinning daily and not repenting, the dread of death troubles me, for in hell there is no redemption."

Although the poetry which makes use of the text of the Book of Job under the influence of the Dirige is based on entirely different conceptions from the original source the actual verbal alterations are not always radical. Whereas the Book of Job was based on the suffering of a faultless man, these poems are intended to express an acknowledgement of man's guilt and a recognition of the fate which that guilt deserved. Often however the poets have achieved this difference by relatively slight changes in the text.

"I am become burdensome to myself," complains Job (vii, 20, lesson one) referring to his ills physical and spiritual and "The Lessouns of the Dirige" adjusts this by a simple addition: "Ful heuy to my self y am maad withynne;/My werkes, on me heuye isse"[2] (ll. 20-21), an

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[1] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, pp. 133-134.

[2] Ibid., p. 108.

addition which shifts the cause of the burdensomeness away from fate, or God, and onto the speaker, and which makes the nature of the burden guilt rather than misfortune.

"Thy hands have made me and fashioned me wholly round about. And dost thou thus cast me down headlong on a sudden?" Job asks (x, 8, lesson three). He can see no reason why God's attitude has changed from one of benevolence to vindictiveness. In the "Pety Job" the reason is deftly supplied:

> Thyne handes, lorde, haue made me,
> And formed me in shape of man,
> And me thow settest in degre
> Of grete nobley after than.
> But whan I, thorough the sotylte,
> Deceyued was of foule sathan,
> Thow puttedyst me fro that dignite,
> Heldyng doune on my brayn pan.
> Noon other cause alege I can,
> But that synne hathe depryued me.[1]
> (ll. 145-154)

The poet also makes the idea applicable to all men by introducing a hint of the story of Adam and Eve.

God's care and loving concern sketched by Job with the words, "Thou hast clothed me with skin and flesh. Thou hast put me together with bones and sinews," (x, ll. lesson three) is expanded in the "Pety Job" to read

> With flesshe and felle thow hast me cladde,
> With bones and synewes togeder knyt.
> Lyfe and mercy of the I hadde.
> To gouerne me thow yaue me wyt.[2]
> (ll. 181-184)

The poem continues however,

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[1] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, pp. 125-126.

[2] Ibid., p. 127.

To kepe thyne hestes thow me bade,
And seydest that I shuld, for hit,
In heuen blysse be euer gladde;
And yet I woll nat fro syn flytte,
But freelte, lord, so me smytte,
Vnnethe kepte ys oone for me.[1]
(ll. 185-190)

and again the expansion has induced the text of the Bible to lend itself to an acknowledgement of guilt, made more objectionable because it entails ingratitude.

"Lyfe and mercy thow yaue me ay,"[2] says the "Pety Job" (l. 193) in an accurate paraphrase of Job x, 12 (lesson three), but the poet goes on to contrast with this magnanimity with his own recklessness in rejecting the mercy of God and continuing a headlong pursuit of sin:

But I denyed hit alwey,
So woodly syn made me to raue.
I seruyd syn, and was hys knaue.
I dyd that was ayenst me.[3]
(ll. 199-202)

The purpose of God's visitation is also altered slightly in what follows. When Job says, "thy visitation hath preserved my spirit", he seems to be referring to the sustaining presence of God experienced in the days of his prosperity which he describes elsewhere as a time "when God was secretly in my tabernacle" (xxix, 4). The author of the "Pety Job" is more specific however, explaining,

Thy vysitacion, lorde, hath kepte
My spyryte, that ys me withyn.

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[1] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 127.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

ffor when I wolde to syn haue lepte,
Than holy grace made me to blyn.[1]
(11. 205-208)

The influence of the office again focusses man's attention on his sin, and prevents him from feeling confidence in his good actions since these are attributable to God.

A verse which lent itself to a very simple adaptation to a new meaning was Job's challenging, "How many are my iniquities and sins? Make me know my crimes and offences" (xiii, 23). Job here requires that the evidence against him be produced since he can think of no offence which can merit the torment in which he finds himself. However the manner in which the challenge was expressed made it easy for the author of the "Pety Job" to adapt the words to his conviction that a man should seek to know his sins in this life since only thus could they be expiated and eternal damnation avoided. Thus he says,

What wykednes all that I haue,
With my synnes all on an hepe,
Shewe me hem, or I go to graue,
That I for hem may sore wepe;
My soule, lord, that I may saue
ffrom the pyt of hell so depe,
Where synful soules tumble and raue,
In endeles woo ataketh good kepe.
Toodes of [on?][2] hem doth crowde and crepe,
In suche peynes the soules be.[3]
(11. 217-226)

The regret for the short and unhappy life of man expressed by Job in "Man, born of a woman, living for a

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[1] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 127.

[2] This emendation is suggested by Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers, II, 383.

[3] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 128.

short time, is filled with many miseries" (xiv, 1, lesson five) is extended to include regret for the way in which that short life is spent when, in the "Pety Job", the passage becomes,

> A man that ys of a woman bore,
> But lytell whyle he lyueth here,
> And euery day more and more
> Replenysshed ys with synnes sere.[1]
> (ll. 289-292)

The author of the "Pety Job" makes one of his most interesting deflections as he turns aside a passage of the Book of Job which might easily have resisted his attempts to bring recalcitrant matter into line with his intention. The poet received considerable assistance in making this transition from the change which the Dirige makes at this point in the text of the Book of Job. There the passage reads, "Where is now then my expectation: and who considereth my patience?" (xvii, 15). This the Dirige alters to read, "Where is now then my expectation and my patience? Thou art, Lord my God" (lesson seven). It is therefore only a step for the "Pety Job" to use this passage to acknowledge that any good a man does is really due to the working of God in him. As a result the poem reads,

> Where ys myn abydyng nowe,
> And all my pacience therto?
> They ben away, I wote neuer howe,
> ffor sothe me wanteth bothe two.
> Yef myn hert be styf and towe,
> To thanke the in wele and woo,
> Hit ys nat I, but only thow,
> Thow art my lord and god also.[2]
> (ll. 517-524)

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[1] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 130.

[2] Ibid., p. 137.

The final lesson of the Dirige opens with Job's denunciation of life, "Why didst thou bring me forth out of the womb? O that I had been consumed that eye might not see me!" (x, 18). In the "Pety Job" this is not, as in the Bible, a complaint against the misfortunes of life but a recognition, rooted in the preoccupation of the Dirige, that the speaker's life has been marred by sin. Thus he complains,

> A, lord, why leddest thow so me
> Oute of the wombe that I was in?
> Wold god I had consumed be
> With-in myn oune moders skynne,
> That the eye, with whyche I se,
> Had nat seyn nomore ne mynne,
> That I myght in that degre
> Neuer haue wyste what had be synne,
> ffor syn maketh me from the to twynne.[1]
> (ll. 625-633)

Job's request to be allowed to complain about his misfortune and suffering, contained in the words, "Suffer me, therefore, that I may lament my sorrow a little, Before I go, and return no more: to a land that is dark and covered with the mist of death" (x, 20-21, lesson nine) becomes, in the hands of two poets, an appeal for a reprieve in which to repent. The Metrical Paraphrase reproduces the passage,

> Dimitte ergo me, Domine,
> vt ego plangam paululum.
> A lytyll whyle, lord, suffer me,
> þat lang hath bene both def and dum,
> þat I may meyne me vnto þe
> and achew my syns all and sum.
> And lett my corse here clensed be
> so þat my sawle, lord, neuer come

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[1] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 141.

In þe land of dole and dyn,
qwylk I wott ordand is
ffor þem þat endes in syne
and geytes no for gyfnes.[1]

and the "Pety Job" interprets it,

Therfore, lord, suffer thow me
A lytell what, that, whyl I may,
The tyme that euer I greved the
In ded or thought, by nyght or day,
And graunt me, yef thy wyl be,
That here in erthe wepe I may,
The derke lande that I neuer se,
That keuered ys with black alway.[2]
(ll. 661-668)

In both cases the poet has pleaded for a short time in which to repent and the will to do so whereas Job had asked God to indulge him if he complained a little since his misery was great and his death imminent.

"The Lessouns of the Dirige" is influenced by the office when it makes a skillful shift changing "Doth it seem good to thee that thou shouldst calumniate me, and oppress me, the work of thy own hands, and help the counsel of the wicked?" (x, 3, lesson two) so that it becomes an acknowledgement of God's ability to counsel the wicked and draw them away from sin. The poet makes this change by separating the portion "Doth it seem good to thee" from what follows and associating it with "Tell me why thou judgest me so," which goes before. (The poet is not

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[1] Metrical Paraphrase, ll. 15133-144. This poem is not as a rule macaronic, and does not usually quote the Latin of the story it is relating. With one exception, a quotation of Proverbs xiv, 16 (l. 14523), the only Latin in the "Job" portion of this poem quotes material from the Dirige.

[2] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 142.

totally successful here since we find him demanding, "Why demestou me þo3 y ded mysse,/Lord, whether þe þynke good to þe," a remark strangely at odds with the poem's general attitude that wickedness undoubtedly deserves damnation.) Having made this separation however the poet can almost identify the calumniated and oppressed "me" with the wicked men and so can say,

> 3if þou chalenge my werk, and bere me doun,
> Me that am werk of þy hande,
> And þou in consayl helpe 3e moun
> To wykked men here synnes withstande,
> Wiþ repentaunce and sorwful soun
> May launce hem from þe deuelys bande.[1]
> (ll. 41-46)

Thus to find fault with and oppress the speaker is God's way of counselling and the poet completes this alteration by continuing, "To 3erde of loue y moste me boun;/Lord, me chastice wiþ þat wande"[2] (ll. 47-48).

Although the poets often are able to bring the text of the Book of Job into line with the ideas they are expressing, ideas very different from the Book of Job's and in accord with the modifications which the Dirige introduced, there are times when Job's statements are so diametrically opposed to the statement of the poems that they completely resist adjustment to their new use.

When a poet expects to find in the material before him an expression of his sense of his own wickedness and ingratitude to God, and of the irreproachable justice with

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[1] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 109.

[2] Ibid.

which God will condemn him to hell unless he mends his ways, he will find difficulty with some sections of the Book of Job. The words,

> Hast thou eyes of flesh? Or, shalt thou see as man seeth? Are thy days as the days of man, and are thy years as the times of men: That thou shouldst inquire after my iniquity and search after my sin? And shouldst know that I have done no wicked thing, (x, 4-7, lesson two)

for example present a challenge to his ingenuity. He can do as the author of the "Pety Job" does, that is, break up the statement and meditate on its parts. Thus he can champion the superiority of the divine insight, answering the opening question with a firm denial, saying,

> Whether thyne eyen flesshly be,
> Or yef thow seest as seeth a man?
> Nay, forsooth, but oonly we
> Of outeward thynges beholdyng han;
> But inward thynges dost thow se,
> That non other may se ne can;[1]
> (11. 109-114)

and can make supplication and submission to that superior vision, praying,

> Therfore, lorde, I pray to the,
> Warne me when I am mystan,
> That I may flee fro foule sathan,
> That ys aboute to perysshe me.[2]
> (11. 115-118)

Similarly he can contrast the eternal years of God with the transient nature of man and can bow in awe before that which is permanent, as he does when he says,

> Whether thy dayes, lord, be syke
> As mennys dayes, that dwellen here,
> Or thy yeres be ought lyke
> To the tymes of mannes yere?

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[1] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 124.

[2] Ibid.

That day a man ys fresshe and fryke,
  And sheweth forth a gladsom chere;
But to-morow he wexeth syke,
  And haply borne forthe on a bere.
Thus mannes tyme ys in a were;
  But thy tyme stondeth in oo degre.[1]
(11. 121-130)

However the latter part of the statement may resist his best efforts so that he ends with a reproach different from that of Job, but not necessarily more complimentary to God,

ffor to seche my wyckednesse,
  And for suche thus all my synne,
Me thynketh hit commeth of grete hardnes,
  With me, lorde, so to begynne.
Shewe thow forth thy grete goodnes,
  And thyne hardshyp vp thow pynne.
Thynke opon the brytylnesse
  That alwey worcheth me withynne.[2]
(11. 133-140)

"The Lessouns of the Dirige" settles for straight paraphrase interjecting only an admiring, "For þou art god shal neuer dyȝe,/For sorwe and deþ shal from the fle" (11. 55-56), after the question about God's years, which postpones the challenge of

That þou seche my wykkednesse,
  And ransake my synne,
And wyte I haue noȝt doun mysse,
  Bote hert and soule clene withynne.[3]
(11. 57-60)

but cannot turn it aside. The poet seems unaware of the criticism implied in the words of Job which follow this, "whereas there is no man that can deliver out of thy hand"

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[1] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 125.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 109.

(x, 7), and offers them blandly, adding a plea for repentance (ll. 61-64) which follows rather illogically after the claim that he has "noȝt doun myss,/Bote hert and soule clene withynne."

The poets who make use of the words, "My soul is weary of my life: I will let go my speech against myself. I will speak in the bitterness of my soul. I will say to God: Do not condemn me. Tell me why thou judgest me so," reconcile it with their own purposes with varying degrees of success. In the Metrical Paraphrase it is among the remarks of Job with which God later pronounces Himself not well pleased, and of which Job later repents. As a development of the unpleasant aspects of the life Job is forced to live, the verse does the poet's intention no ill service. He says,

> Sen seruantes, frendes, and wyfe
> are glad fro me to gang,
> My saule laythes with my lyfe,
> þou lattes me lyfe ouer lang.[1]

In both the "Pety Job" and "The Lessouns of the Dirige" the soul's weariness of life is a weariness with the sinfulness of life, the "Pety Job" saying "Hyt forthynketh my soule y-wys,/The lyfe that I haue lad alway"[2] (ll. 85-86) and "The Lessouns","My soul of my self anoyed isse./I shal leue my speche aȝens me"[3] (ll. 33-34). The "Pety Job" continues in this vein and inserts "Telle how thus thow

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[1] Metrical Paraphrase, ll. 14481-484.

[2] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 123.

[3] Ibid., p. 108. A comma follows "My soul" in the text but seems to interfere with the sense.

demest me"[1] (l. 94) as a prayer, so that its truculence is quite gone. "The Lessouns" however adopts a much more challenging tone and resolves to say "to god so free:

> Wyl noȝt dampne me fro blisse,
> Shew me þe cause, þat wolde I se,
> Why demestou me þoȝ y dede mysse,
> Lord, whether þe þynke good to þe.[2]
> (ll. 37-40)

The last line of this extract has been separated from the sentence to which it belongs in the original, "Doth it seem good to thee that thou shouldst calumniate me, and oppress me, the work of thy hands, and help the counsel of the wicked?" (x, 3). This is extremely difficult to reconcile with a purpose of reverence and repentance and even the fragment attached by the poet to the preceding verse gives him some trouble. He might have succeeded better if he had avoided the clause "þoȝ y dede mysse" which he seems to have added only for the sake of rhyme. As it stands the poet seems to be taking a much more lighthearted attitude to sin than he presents in the rest of the poem. However having detached the opening reproach to God, he is able to use the final part to great advantage by making only a slight change to,

> And þou in consayl helpe ȝe moun
> To wykked men here synnes withstande,
> Wiþ repentaunce and sorwful soun
> May launce hem from þe develys bande[3]
> (ll. 43-46)

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[1] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 124.

[2] Ibid., p. 108.

[3] Ibid., p. 109.

Poems which meditate on the Dirige might have found difficulty in adapting such indignant verses from Job's speeches as "And dost thou think it meet to open thy eyes upon such an one, and to bring him into judgment with thee?" (xiv, 3, lesson five) into the general tone of contrition and submission which they otherwise seek to establish. However both the "Pety Job" and "The Lessouns of the Dirige" seize on the affirmation that there will be a judgment, which can be found in the speech, and ignore the fact that Job is questioning whether it is fitting for a being of God's stature to call to account a creature whose life is fleeting. Thus, the "Pety Job" says,

> And, lord, thow lettest that hit be dygne
> Thyne eyen to opene vppon suche on,
> And hym thow shewest, by that sygne,
> That he, with the, to dome shall gone.[1]
> (ll. 313-316)

and "The Lessouns",

> And þou holdest worthy to open thyn ey,
> And come to me, and clayme for rent,
> To loke on such a wrecche as y,
> And lede hym with the to iugement,[2]
> (ll. 185-188)

and in each case the question has become an assertion and the fact of judgment taken over the centre of interest and the possible unworthiness of that action is allowed to pass without attention.

The author of the "Pety Job" deals with some of the intransigent passages by setting them up as an utterance

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[1] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 131.

[2] Ibid., p. 113.

of wilfulness which he instantly regrets. He calls attention to this device in one case, but uses it on several occasions. Thus, he takes Job's "I have not sinned: and my eye abideth in bitterness"[1] (xvii, 2, lesson seven), and begins sulkily,

> I haue nat synned wylfully
> Thorow my feynt, feble nature,
> Ne greued the so greuosly,
> Wherfore I shulde thys wo endure.
> Thow punysshest me, and I not why,
> Passing resoun and good mesure.[2]
> (ll. 457-462)

On second thought however he sees that an intractable tone simply will not do and continues,

> Hit ys my flessh, lorde, and nat I,
> That grocheth ayenst thyn hard reddure.
> But, lorde, as I am thy creature,
> And [thow?] that ylke god that boughtest me,
> So my care recouere and cure
> With Parce michi, domine![3]
> (ll. 463-468)

Although the rejection of Job's words is not overtly expressed on other occasions it is sometimes implicit. Thus with the passage, "Why dost thou set thy heart upon him [man]? Thou visitest him early in the morning; and thou provest him suddenly" (vii, 17-18, lesson one), the author

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[1] "The Lessouns of the Dirige" versifies this with an oddly lighthearted air, the jingling metre adding to a carefreeness quite out of keeping with what is being said:

> I haue non synne, no vices me sewe,
> Myn eyen in bitternesse dwelle y se.
> Deliuere me, lord, and on me rewe,
> And sette me bysydes the!
> (ll. 255-258)

[2] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 135.

[3] Ibid., p. 136. The emendation is suggested by Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers, II, 386.

of the "Pety Job" has written,

> Or why puttist thow thyn hert ayenst man
> That thow hast so dere bought?
> Thow vysyteste hym, and art full fayne
> Sodenly to preue yef he be ought.[1]
> (ll. 25-28)

and then as if ashamed of this outburst continues,

> To longe in synne we haue layne;
> ffor synne hath so oure soule thorow sought,
> To helpe oureself haue we no mayne,
> So moche woo hit hath vs wrought.
> But to the pyt when we be brought,
> Then men woll wepe for the and me.
> But certes all that helpeth nought
> But Parce michi, domine.[2]
> (ll. 29-36)

He is in a similar position with "What shall I do to thee, O keeper of men? Why hast thou set me opposite to thee, and I am become burdensome to myself?" (vii, 20, lesson one). He even intensifies the rebelliousness of this with his paraphrase,

> What shall I do vn-to the,
> O thow kepar of all mankynde?
> Of suche a matiere why madest thow me,
> To the contrarious me for to fynde?[3]
> (ll. 49-52)

He has however simply set this up to be disposed of by the more meek:

> O fader of heuen, fayre and fre,
> As thow art bothe good and hende,
> Yet be kynde as thow hast be,
> And spare me, lorde, that am vnkynde.
> Thy frenshyp, fader, late me fynde,
> As thow art god in trinite.[4]
> (ll. 53-58)

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[1] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 121.

[2] Ibid., p. 122.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

Like Rolle[1] the author of the "Pety Job" sees that, understood literally, the passage, "Against a leaf, that is carried away with the wind, thou shewest thy power: and thou pursuest a dry straw" (xiii, 25, lesson four), is uncomplimentary but his solution to the problem these words present differs from Rolle's. He states and even adds to the reproach saying,

> Ayenst a leefe, that lyght ys to blowe,
> To me that am freel of kynde,
> Thy myght and power dost thow showe,
> As though I myght beres bynde.[2]
> (ll. 241-244)

but allows the object of this reproach to slide easily into being temptation rather than God, and the reproof into being against himself for his weakness to stand against temptation, rather than against God for overmatching him,

> With wyndes ofte I ouerthrowe,
> Suche fondyng of the I fynde.
> I renne forthe fro rowe to rowe,
> Som-tyme before, somtyme behynde.
> I grope as a man that ys full blynde;
> But though I stomble, thow folowest me.[3]
> (ll. 245-250)

One of the most challenging statements of the Book of Job, in view of the fact that Job was known to have been the prophet of the resurrection of the dead was his question, "Shall man that is dead, thinkest thou, live again?" (xiv, 14, lesson six). The "Pety Job" resolves

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[1]See pp. 276-277.

[2]Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 129.

[3]Ibid.

this contradiction and keeps the conception of a resolutely steadfast Job constant in his poem, by rendering this as "Trowest thow nat that man shal ryse/Ayene to lyfe, that dyed onys?"[1] (ll. 397-398). The author of "The Lessouns of the Dirige" retains the interrogative of the biblical text and, following the lead of the English Prymer which was his immediate source,[2] gives, "Trowest þou ouȝt þat y, dede man,/Shal haue aȝeyn man of myȝt"[3] (ll. 230-231) which retains the non-committed nature of the original. What follows alters the implications however since the poet adds, "And ȝelde rekenyng sen y bygan/With alle dayes þat y now fyȝt"[4] (ll. 231-232).

The Christian background of the "Pety Job" poet made possible an allegorical interpretation of the passage,

> The flesh being consumed, my bone hath cleaved to my skin, and nothing but lips are left about my teeth. Have pity on me, have pity on me, at least you my friends, because the hand of the Lord hath touched me. Why do you persecute me as God, and glut yourselves with my flesh?
>
> (xix, 20-22, lesson eight)

The poet sees in this the possibility of an allegorical development by which the first sentence is a picture of age and approaching death (ll. 529-540), the second death itself and the appeal to the friends,

> And frendes, seeth that I am he,
> Thys other day that on the erth yede.

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[1] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 133.

[2] See Appendix C.

[3] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 114.

[4] Ibid.

Now helpe, yef that youre wyll be,
With prayer, fastyng, and almes-dede.
ffor these mowen best get me mede
With Placebo And Dirige.[1]
(ll. 545-550)

The friends however neglect these duties and do not use a penny of all he left to redeem his soul from purgatory, as he exclaims,

Why, as god, do ye pursewe
Me that suffre these sharpe shoures?
Ye lat me peyne here in a peynfull pewe,
That ys a place of grete doloures.
Yow I chese for frendes trewe,
And made yow myne executoures.
But tyme shall come that ye shall rewe
That euer ye were to me so false treytoures.
My good ye spent, as hit were youres,
But nat a peny yeuyn ye me.
Nowe for all suche faytoures,
Lorde, Parce michi, domine![2]
(ll. 553-564)

In interpreting this appeal to the friends for pity as the cry of the dead to the living, understandable enough in view of the fact that he was meditating on the passage as part of the Office of the Dead, the poet resembles Rolle who also views this as a plea from the souls in purgatory and says, "We ought, brothers, to pray for the souls of the dead that they may be freed from pains, knowing how freely and gladly we would welcome help from others if we were in the same torment."[3]

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[1] Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems, p. 138.

[2] Ibid., pp. 138-139.

[3] Rolle, I, iv[v]: "Debemus fratres orare pro animabus defunctorum vt a penis liberentur. cogitantes quam libenter aliorum et gaudenter amplectaremur auxilium si in eisdem tormentis essemus."

Another modification of the Book of Job made in Middle English literature is no doubt due to the fact that the Dirige departed from the usual liturgical practice of using the final verses of the lesson for its antiphon. In the Dirige this is not done and except in one instance[1] the words are not from the Book of Job at all. However because most antiphons were taken from the same book as the lesson, those of this office came to be accepted as the words of Job because the lessons were.

This mistaken impression can be seen in a homily of the twelfth century which pictures a grateful Job who, restored to health and prosperity,

> hefde þo his egen to heuene and his heorte to gode, and his honden to his breste and sore sihte, and his heorte biet and bed godes milce þus queðinde. Libera me domine et cetera. Ared me louerd of eche deaðe. on þe grisliche dai. þe heuene and eorðe shulen quakien. of-dred. þanne þu cumest to demen al mankin mid fire.[2]

Thus, claims the preacher, the holy man himself prayed and gave example to others so to pray.[3] Later the same homily tells of the three deaths which men could suffer: that of the body which men fear but need not, that of the soul separated from righteousness which is the only one of which God-fearing men need be afraid, and that endless death suffered by body and soul after Doomsday, which all men ought to dread, "þe on ure drihte bileueð. And Iob

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[1] See p. 263.

[2] Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century, p. 169.

[3] Ibid.: "Þus þe holi man him bad and ȝaf alle men forbisne swo to bidden."

witnede ure drihten þat of þis deaþ him redde on þe carefuldai. Þan he cumeþ almiddeneard to demen. Danne shule boþe quakien ofdradde heuen and eröe."[1] The debt is obviously to the ninth respond rather than to the Book of Job, and the Latin quotation which begins this sermon on the dead, "Libera me domine de morte eterna in die illa tremenda, quando celi movendi sunt et terra dum veneris judicare seculum per ignem. Dies illa, dies irae, calamitatis et miseriae, dies magna et amara valde," comes from the office while the preacher's tale is of the holy man Job.

The Pricke of Conscience also quotes the responses of the Dirige as the words of Job. In one such misascription the author says,

> Bot fra þe lawest helle, with-outen dout,
> Na saul may be delyverd out;
> For of mercy þar es na hope;
> Þarfor þus says þe haly man Iobe.
> Quia in inferno nulla est redempcio.
> "In helle", he says, "es na raunceon."
> For na helpe may be in þat dungeon,
> Þat es to say, in þe lawest helle,
> Whar þe dampned saules sal ay duelle,
> Whar messe ne prayer helpes noght,
> Til þam þat er þeder broght.[2]

An identical error occurs in the B Text of Piers Plowman where Langland says,

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[1] Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century, p. 171.

[2] The Pricke of Conscience, IV, 2829-839.

For that is ones in helle out cometh it neuere;
Job the prophete, patriarke reproueth thi sawes,
Quia in inferno nulla est redempcio.
(Piers Plowman, B, XVIII, 148-149)[1]

Later The Pricke of Conscience again cites Job as the speaker of words which are from the antiphons rather than from the lessons, saying,

Many maner of men sal haf dred þan,
To come byfor þat dredful domesman,
Namely, synful men with-outen hope,
And yhit says þus þe haly man, Iope:
Domine quando veneris iudicare terram,
ubi me abscondam a vultu ire tue, quia
peccavi nimis in vita mea?
"Lovered", he says, "when þou sal come
To deme þe erthe and sytte in dome,
Whar sal I fra þi wreth hyd me
For-why I haf synd oganyes þe,
Ful gretely in my life here?"[2]

The fear which he attributes to Job is, of course, that of the third antiphon of the Dirige.

In the Towneley play, "The Harrowing of Hell", Satan bids his "belamy", Christ, to cease the din He is making as He knocks on hell's gates. He first cites Solomon, "who that ones commys hell within/he shall neuer owte, as clerkys knawes", and then continues:

Iob thi seruande also
In his tyme can tell
That nawder freynde nor fo
shall fynde relese in hell.[3]
(ll. 299-302)

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[1]Skeat edition, p. 528. The C Text makes only a slight alteration from this reading,
That thyng that ones was in helle out cometh hit neuere.
For Iob the parfit patriarke repreoueth thy sawes,
Quia in inferno nulla est redempcio.
(XXI, 152-153, Skeat, p. 529)

[2]The Pricke of Conscience, V, 5082-5093.

[3]The Towneley Plays, EETS, ES. 71, p. 302.

From the wording of the passage it would seem far more likely that its source was the seventh antiphon's "quia in inferno nulla est redempcio" than the nearest words of Job on the subject, "sic qui descenderit ad infernos, non ascendet" (vii, 9).

The stress on the "lawest" hell, in The Pricke of Conscience, may be due, not to metrical exigencies, but to dogma. In Christ's response in the Towneley play to Satan's claim that no one finds release in hell, He says,

> he [Job] sayde full soyth, that shall thou se,
> In hell shalbe no relese,
> Bot of that place then ment he
> where synfull care shall euer encrese.[1]
> ("The Harrowing of Hell", ll. 303-306)

Here the author seems to be making a distinction between the hell which Satan and the damned are to inhabit and the one from which He is claiming the souls of the righteous who lived before the incarnation. In his exposition of the text, "Who will grant me this, that thou mayst protect me in hell, and hide me till thy wrath pass" (xiv, 13), Rolle says that this is the voice of the ancient fathers

> in expectation of the coming of Christ, the son of God, to redeem human nature, who were eager rather to be protected and hidden in hell, that is in the upper part of hell, of course, in limbo, where there was darkness but no fire, than to see God angry and judging, because he would perhaps then have damned them to eternal fire.[2]

That Job was among those so redeemed was a belief brought over from the Greek texts of the Bible by Jerome's first

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[1] The Towneley Plays, p. 303.

[2] Rolle's Latin text is quoted on p. 281 above.

translation of the Book of Job, which says, "It is written that he will arise with those whom the Lord raises up."[1]

The familiarity of the responsories in the Dirige is further attested by Chaucer's Parson's Tale, which reads, "First, for God that is hir juge, shal be withouten mercy to hem: and they may nat plese hym ne noon of his halwes; ne they ne may yeve no-thyng for hir raunsoun" (l. 225).[2] Chaucer's Parson does not claim Job as authority for this statement, nor does the author of "Against Breaking Wedlock" or its variant, "The Adulterous Falmouth Squire". The latter reads,

> But therfor he has getten him helle
> Endles in the depe dongeon
> Ther euer more for to dwelle;
> Fro that place is þer no Redempcion.[3]
> (ll. 287-290)

The author of the Metrical Paraphrase does attribute to Job the words of Dirige responsories. Thus the intrusion of the New Testament figure Lazarus into the speech of the Old Testament patriarch, an anachronism by no means unique in the literature of the period, can in this case be accounted for by the responsory to the third lesson. Drawing on the third responsory, which the poet with characteristic freedom appends to material drawn from the second lesson, he gives Job the words,

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[1] P.L., XXIX, 113: "Scriptum est autem resurrecturum eum cum his, quos Dominus suscitabit."

[2] F. N. Robinson edition, p. 233.

[3] Political, Religious, and Love Poems, EETS 15, p. 102.

lord, laȝar þat lay low os led,
doluen as þe ded suld be dyȝt,
ffull [IV] days stynkand in þat sted
and lokyn fro all erthly lyȝt,
þou raysed hym vp to lyf fro ded
and mad hym man in erthly myght.[1]

The fourth antiphon is easily detected behind Job's reply to God's rebuke, given later, which reads,

what sall I do, wrech wyll of wone,
whore sall I hye me forto hyde
vnto þi dredfull dome be done
and all by jugment iustyfyed?
I haue no gatt bot to god allon
te teld me vnder in þat tyde,
And his gudnes beys neuer gone,
In his beld is me best to byd.[2]

This absorption of the antiphons of the Dirige into the text of the Book of Job is typical of the effect which the office had on the portions of the Book of Job which it used for its lessons. The Dirige was concerned with the destiny of a soul which it accepted as both guilty and immortal--that of every man--and its readers expected to hear in the words of the lessons the same ideas which were contained in the antiphons, expressions of guilt, of humility and of fear, and appeals for mercy to which they could make no claim. The Book of Job on the other hand was concerned with a man whose innocence it began by establishing beyond any possibility of doubt and whose appeal, one might say demand, was not for mercy but for justice. Its hero differed also from the reader of the Dirige in having no certainty of immortality to

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[1] Metrical Paraphrase, ll. 14977-982.

[2] Ibid., ll. 15121-128.

assure him that recompense would be made in the next world for sufferings in this. Far from being patient under his afflictions Job used them as a vantage point from which he tested the pious theories of his time (or of the author's time) regarding the nature of God and His attitude to men. Filled with the belief that the one unforgivable sin is to lie about life because the truth seems damaging to God,[1] Job questions God's right to deal with men as He does. Since the lessons of the Dirige are taken from some of Job's probings they contain material which expresses ideas which are almost diametrically opposed to those of the office as a whole. Under the influence of the office however the impression was so modified that they were understood to express the guilt and fear and humility which was the total effect of the office. Thus the antiphons came to seem no different in the attitude they expressed from the text of the lessons.

As a result of the modification which Job's words underwent by their presence in the Dirige, the authors who made use of these passages were not aware of altering the literal meaning in their paraphrases but felt that they were merely making explicit what was implicit. Because they failed to perceive the actual meaning of some of Job's more caustic remarks, writers sometimes reproduced with bland innocence statements which were greatly at odds with the general tone of their works. Occasionally

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[1]See especially xiii, 7-10 and 16, but this idea is fairly clearly discernible throughout Job's speeches.

utterances whose defiance was so blatant that they could not be blind to the lack of orthodoxy in them were subdued by stating them and then following up the statement with a bold contradiction. In doing so they seem to have been unaware of the criticism of "saint" Job which this implied. Very frequently however they modified the statements until their challenging nature was quite dissipated. The mixture of treatments frequently gave the literature an unintentional dichotomy, and the Book of Job which is presented in it is a very different work from that which is found in the Bible.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

Literature must inevitably modify the sources with which it is working but when the source in question is a book of the Bible considerations enter that might have been expected to keep variations within fairly strict limits. Particularly would one have expected fidelity to such a source in an age which regarded the Bible as the word of God, and in works having the purpose of transmitting its text or of showing the application of portions of its text to their audience. However the composite picture of the Book of Job which emerges from a study of Middle English treatments of it, whether extended presentations or passing references, is radically different from that presented by the book itself. To some extent this difference results from the process of abbreviating and simplifying which the writers employed to make their meaning clear. However the selections and interpretations made in the course of this simplifying are to a great extent the result of influences which were part of the background of the authors of the period.

Possibly the legend of Job was the greatest single influence on the way in which his story appears in Middle English literature for it was the legend that gave rise to

the notion that patience was his greatest virtue. Surely no one who read beyond the first two chapters of the Book of Job would carry away such an impression. In these first two chapters the author of the Book of Job utilizes the legend to provide a framework which becomes for him a point of departure. It is unlikely however that the patience of Job would have been proverbial in mediaeval times or in our own without the reference in the Epistle of St. James, "You have heard of the patience of Job, and you have seen the end of the Lord." This passage in James refers almost certainly to a legend current in his day and not to the Book of Job. It provided the hero however with a reputation that no words of his were able to destroy. This view of Job not only made him the logical example to select when patient resignation was being discussed but it dictated the interpretation drawn by writers of this period from expressions which would otherwise be accepted as the anguished cry for relief or vindication that they actually are.

The single exception to a universal blindness to the failure of the biblical Job to deserve his reputation was the Metrical Paraphrase and even its author may have begun his account of Job with the notion that the tale was one of exemplary patience since it is difficult to see what other aspect of the story would have caused him to recommend it to his readers as "helfull forto here", unless perhaps it was instructive to remind them that God is always willing to restore the sincere penitent.

Also influential was the Moralia in Job of Gregory the Great which, either directly or through epitomes, was extremely important. Although Gregory protested that it was not a popular work and should be reserved for a learned audience,[1] it was adopted as part of the liturgical cursus and was frequently quoted, not so much for its ability to clarify difficult passages of the Book of Job as for the moral instruction it put forward in the course of its explication. Gathering up as it did the bulk of previous interpretations, it established Job as prophet and saint and associated him with such items of dogma as the resurrection of Christ and the resurrection of the body.

Another persistent influence on mediaeval interpretations of the Book of Job was the Dirige since it allied some of Job's bitterest comments on life with the phenomenon of death and so related them to the ideas of judgment and hell which dominated the attitude of the time toward death. Because of this association it was inevitable that Job's speeches in the lessons of the Dirige should come to reflect the alternate hope and fear with which that office speaks of death, and that even extracted from the office they should retain the significance they had taken on there. It also caused Job to be credited not only with the words of the lessons themselves but with those of the antiphons which completed them.

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[1]Gregory, Nicene Fathers, 2nd ser., XIII, 88.

An additional factor which may have modified Job's story in Middle English presentations is the possibility that the chief preoccupation of the Book of Job, the relationship between sin and suffering, did not present the same problems for the mediaeval world as they had for the Old Testament writer. Its finding, that the justice of God is beyond man's comprehension, was not objectionable to these later students of the book: St. Thomas Aquinas is quite undistressed when he states that this is one of the great messages of the book.[1] The idea did not however catch the imagination of mediaeval writers as it had that of the author of the Book of Job. They had their own explanations of suffering and frequently regarded it as a sign of divine approval rather than reproof, signifying that the sins of the sufferer were being expiated in this world so that his virtues might be crowned with beatitude in the next.

Although these various influences affected the way in which the book was understood and as a consequence the way in which it was presented, they did not greatly alter the events of the story. It was a useful tale not, as in the Book of Job, to provide a setting for the presentation of conflicting opinions on the causes of suffering, but usually to show the extent of Job's misfortunes, his patience in accepting them and God's graciousness in restoring his servant to prosperity. The friends usually

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[1]Thomas Aquinas, In librum B. Iob, p. 125.

filled the traditional role of "Job's comforters" and his wife too was frequently classified as one of his afflictions. Satan's visit to heaven was often presented as reassurance that he can trouble mankind only within limits prescribed by God. Occasionally, as in "The Life of Job", the events were augmented by such incidents as the visit of the musicians and the reaction of Job's wife to the reward he gives them. The moral of these references to Job was usually that misfortune should be received with the same gratitude men feel when good fortune is showered upon them.

The speeches however have undergone considerable alteration. Omissions are frequent and since the book is repetitive this is only to be expected in works which shorten their source. However some of Job's speeches seem to have been omitted because they could not readily be presented as the words of a saint and especially a saint of patience. To have included the long allegorizing explanations of the exegetes would have interrupted the flow of the story, or made cumbersome the application of the text to the moral being pointed out by the homilectic writer. Some speeches required only slight alterations to bring about a radical change in their meaning as when "Suffer me, therefore, that I may lament my sorrow a little" becomes "lament my sin". When adjusted in this way they became quite effective for the purposes of the authors who employed them. Occasionally the words of Eliu or of Eliphaz, Baldad and Sophar provided just the material a

Middle English writer needed and were therefore quoted, often with Job being cited as the speaker.

The impatience of Job was a little less easy for the Middle English writers to absorb into their conception of spiritual excellence and they therefore shunned some of his expressions in favour of utterances which accorded with the purposes of their works. In doing so they modified their source and if the reader plans to approach Middle English literature with a view to gaining a fuller understanding of the contents and significance of the Book of Job he would do well to heed the warning of an unknown critic of the Metrical Paraphrase who has written in the margin of the Longleat Manuscript where God utters the rebuke that Job's prayers are stained with wickedness[1] the comment "Caveat lector quia hic errat translator ut in plerisque allijs."[2]

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[1] Metrical Paraphrase, ll. 15049-060.

[2] Longleat MS 257, f. 194[r]. See Metrical Paraphrase, IV, 36.

APPENDIX A

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*Attributed to Tobit.

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APPENDIX B

The story of Job in A Middle English Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament departs in many respects from that in the Vulgate and the source of these departures has been the subject of some discussion.[1] Kalén's introduction to the first volume of this work shows that in certain places where the paraphrase differs from the Vulgate and from the Historia Scholastica it agrees with an Old French verse paraphrase.[2] In the case of the Book of Job however it was not possible to trace this resemblance because the only extant manuscripts of the Old French poem (B.N. fr. 898 and 902) break off at the same point, IV Kings xviii.[3] However Berger believed that an Old French prose paraphrase of the Old Testament, of which two manuscripts also survive (B.N. fr. 6260 and 9562), was a prose rendering of this poem,[4] and this suggested to Ohlander that the prose work, not available to him, might throw some light on the Middle English poem's departures from the Bible.[5] Although this was a reasonable specu-

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[1]See Ohlander, Introduction to the Metrical Paraphrase, IV, 5-6.

[2]Kalén, Metrical Paraphrase, I, clxxxvii-viii.

[3]Ohlander, IV, 6.

[4]Berger, La Bible Francaise, p. 54.

[5]Ohlander, Metrical Paraphrase, IV, 6.

lation, examination of the Old French prose manuscripts has led me to conclude that there is no connection between the French prose work and the English poem at this point.

As will be shown below, the Book of Job in the Old French prose paraphrase is so different from the Middle English metrical version that it cannot possibly be the source of the English rendering, nor can they have had a common source. The resemblances both works share with earlier parts of the Old French poem can be accounted for by considering that the latter was a source for both as far as it went. In both manuscripts however the poem breaks off with the words,

> De cest roi nus estot laisser
> Et de ceus de Jerusalem avant parler,
> (B.N. MS 898 f. 218r)[1]

This suggests that the poet intended to continue and he may have done so. However it seems probable that either one or both of the authors of the Old French prose and Middle English verse Old Testaments had a manuscript of the Old French poem which broke off as do the two that have survived. Even if one had a complete text of the Old French poem and continued to use it their works would not resemble one another from that point on because they would be using different sources. This would account for the fact that their "Job" portions bear little resemblance to one another except where they also agree with the biblical story.

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[1]Quoted by Ohlander, Metrical Paraphrase, IV, 6.

Both the Old French and Middle English versions of the Book of Job resemble the Bible in having a prologue, central discussion, and an epilogue. In both by far the greatest number of departures from scripture occur in the central section. This is true even in the order of speakers. All three begin with Job's curse on the day of his birth and end with the appearance of God. Within that framework, the first cycle of speeches preserves the same order in all three accounts: Eliphaz, Job, Baldad, Job, Sophar, Job. In the second cycle the Bible preserves the same order, as does the Metrical Paraphrase except that it omits a final speech for Job. The Old French text gives only speeches of Eliphaz, Job, Sophar, and Job. The French text provides no further speeches, introducing the pronouncement of God at this point. The Bible gives an incomplete third cycle: Eliphaz, Job, Baldad, Job and the Metrical Paraphrase curtails the cycle still further giving speeches of Eliphaz and Job only. Thus though both paraphrases have given a different series of speeches from the Bible's, they also differ from one another. Both omit the speech of Eliu which in the Bible stands between the last speech of the third cycle and the appearance of God. This resemblance is not very significant however since almost all vernacular accounts agree in omitting this section which indeed lends itself to such treatment, especially if the writer intends to shorten his source.

The material selected by the French and English authors to make up these cycles of discussion is quite

different. Job's curse on the day of his birth is almost complete in the Old French version which provides a translation that departs only a little from the biblical text of iii, 3-16, 20-21 and 23-25. In the Metrical Paraphrase the corresponding speech, it cannot be called a curse, confines its resemblance to that of the Bible to "els may I ban þat I was born" (l. 14420), although it borrows x, 19 and 18 which voice a complaint similar to that of chapter iii of the Book of Job. In all the speeches which make up the discussion, the Old French is composed almost entirely of passages from the biblical version, albeit altered in places, while the Metrical Paraphrase bears only a remote resemblance to it. For Eliphaz's first speech the Old French text uses iv, 2-9, 12-21; v, 1-9, 11-27. The Middle English has used only iv, 3-6 and 19, providing a much shorter speech, and one which is quite different from the Bible. Job's reply in the Old French uses vi, 1-4, 6-7; vii, 5-11 and 15 from the Bible whereas the Middle English uses only vi, 2, 3, 12 with overtones of xii, 4; xix, 16-17; x, 1; xiii, 25; x, 8; and xiii, 18. The Old French version of Baldad's speech uses viii, 1-4, 6, 8-13, while the Middle English uses only viii, 2-3 and perhaps an adaptation of xl, 3. Both leap to chapter xix for Job's next speech, the Old French using 1-11, 13-14, 16-20 and 28, while the Middle English uses 2, 21, 23-24, 25-27 and interweaves among these verses original matter and material, substantially altered, from xxiii, 10; xiii, 15; xxvii, 5; xiii, 18; vi, 21; and xiv, 20. For Sophar's

speech which follows the Old French uses xx, 2-8 and the Middle English, xi, 2, 4, 14; adapting also notions contained in one verse from a speech made by Job in the Bible (xxx, 1) and one by Eliu, xxxiii, 27. The Old French uses xxi, 2, 4-9, 11-16 for Job's next speech, the Middle English xix, 2 or xvi, 3; xiii, 15; xxvii, 5-6; xxi, 7-15. The Old French gives a part of the next speech by Eliphaz (xxii, 1-5) and the Middle English attributes to him an idea which bears a distant resemblance to something said by Baldad (viii, 20) and summarizes in four lines an idea from the corresponding speech by Eliphaz in the Bible (xxii, 21-28). The Old French version then gives Job a very brief speech which is remotely like vii, 15 and xxx, 1, and gives Sophar another brief speech for which the author borrows part of a speech made by Eliphaz, xx, 6, 7 and 9, but does not follow this material closely. The Old French finishes the discussion with a speech by Job based on xxiii, 2, 6-13. The Middle English version substitutes a speech by Job which is quite independent of scripture, one by Baldad which may have borrowed xviii, 3, has made use of material from a speech by Job, xxix, 21-22 to suggest that Job had the gift of oratory, and from the speech of Eliu, xxxiii, 8-9, ending with a verse from Sophar's speech, xi, 6. The absence of further speeches from the discussion in the Old French paraphrase makes further comparison unnecessary at this point. The Metrical Paraphrase gives Job another speech which contains little scriptural content, and one of Sophar which is similarly

remote from the text of the Bible. Eliphaz's last speech is interesting in that it uses parts of a speech of Job's, xiv, 1, which is also from the Dirige. The complaint with which Job winds up the discussion also draws on passages which are in the Dirige: vii, 16; x, 9, 11; x, 5-7 and xiv, 13.

Although the Old French account is much closer to the Bible's version than is the Metrical Paraphrase, it makes several departures from the Vulgate. The death of Job's children is attributed not to a whirlwind, but to the Sabeans, and this peculiarity is repeated three times. As in the Bible, Satan begins his strife against Job on the day when Job's children are feasting in the house of their eldest brother, by the carrying off of the oxen and asses by the people of Saba.[1] Unlike the Sabeans in the Bible however they kill all Job's sons and daughters as well. The messenger who tells of the fire from heaven which consumed the sheep repeats that the people of Saba have carried off Job's children to slay them with the sword.[2] He sums up the disasters thus far by repeating

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[1]B.N. MS fr. 9562, f. 164^{v}: "Lors comencea Sathan guerre vers Job et com les fits et les filles Job par vn iour mangeassent en la maisoun lour frere einznee vindrent les gentz de Saba com le deable les out en ire committ[e]z vers le seint bier Job et lui tollirent toutz ses beofs et ses asnes et lui tuerent toutz ses fitz et totes ses filles."

[2]Ibid.: "lors vint vn messager et dist a Job, sachez seignur que feu descendi de ciel et ad ars tes owails et les gentz de Saba te vnt tolluz tes enfaunts par occisioun despee et vnt periee tes beofs et tes asnes et ieo soulement fuy qui le te countasse."

also the loss of the oxen and asses. The tempest of wind destroys the houses in which Job's children used to feast but again the messenger who brings the bad news attributes the death of the children to the malevolence of the Sabeans.[1] The Middle English paraphrase follows the Vulgate as it recounts the successive misfortunes of Job, and the children are killed by the whirlwind which brings down the house on their heads. The messenger reports it:

> Þei spake in certayn space
> to ete and drynke to geydder
> In þe eldest broþer place,
> and ylkon come þei ydder.
>
> And als þei ware with in þe wonys,
> sett at þer fest full fayr and fast,
> A wynd com on þem gretT for þe noyns
> and all þe howse sone down yt cast.
> yt bressed þe barns both flesch and bons
> so þat þei myȝt no langer last.
> (ll. 14241-250)

A second discrepancy between the Old French text and the Vulgate occurs in Satan's statement on his second visit to heaven that God has moved him against Job and that he has tempted him but in vain, in reply to which God admits that He had protected Job while he was in Satan's

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[1] B.N. MS fr. 9562, f. 165r: "Et com ceo vist vn des serfs Job il lui dist les maisouns qui nadgaires furent a toun fitz einznee ou tes fitz et tes filles a ioie soleient entremanger molt graunt turbiloun de vent de bis sodeignement descendi si ad les maisouns agrauentez si vnt les gentz de Saba occis tes fitz et tes filles et od eux ount il amesnee tes beofs et tes asnes et ieo eschapai soul od graunt peine pour toi annuncier la nouele." This confusion may be due to the fact that, in the Vulgate, Job is told by the first messenger that the Sabeans "pueros percusserunt gladio", and someone may have confused the servants (pueros) of Job with his sons (filii).

hand by reserving to Himself Job's soul.[1] In the Vulgate of course the situation is reversed: God complains that Satan has moved Him against Job without cause and reiterates His claim that Job has constancy and steadfastness (ii, 3). Although the Middle English account is in general much more distant from the Vulgate than is the Old French work, it follows the sense of the Vulgate here if not the language and bears no resemblance to the French version,

> . . . "satanas, now may þou se
> þat Iob dredes me not all in vayn
> bot in lele luf and charite.
> All wo þat þou hath [sic] wroght
> both to hym and hys hyne,
> þou may not chaunge his toyȝt
> to skyft fro me and myne."
> (ll. 14298-304)

Another reversal of speeches occurs when Job's wife reproaches him that he has acted as a fool in being so simple.[2] In doing so she speaks with much greater disrespect than she does in the Vulgate, although her words may spring from her question there, "Adhuc tu permanes in simplicitate tua?" and the ambiguous nature of the word "simplicitate". It seems however very closely akin to

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[1] B.N. MS fr. 9562, f. 165r: "Dist deu a Sathan, ne as tu regardee moun serf Job a qi nulnest semblable en terre, hom simple et dieu doutaunt et departaunt de mal, et Innocent tenant. Lors dist Sathan a dieu, Tu moi mouas countre Job et ieo lay temptee mais tut en vain. Donquez dist dieu a Sathan. Ore Sathan ieo baille Job en ta main reseruaunt a moi soun espirit."

[2] Ibid.: "Lors lui dist sa femme en reproece, Vnqore Job permesnes tu en ta simpleste et ceo gairs ne te profite. Com fol as tu eouerez qui tant simple as estee."

Job's answering rebuke that she has spoken as one of the foolish women (ii, 10). The Middle English paraphrase also departs from her words in the Vulgate, but in a way quite different from that of the French text. Job's wife accuses him, not of folly, but of secret wickedness, for she says,

> "now may men se," þus con scho say,
> "of what condycions þou hath [sic] bene.
> blyse god and dy and wend þi way,
> for oþer welthys is none to wene.
> þou has not plessed þi god to pay,
> þat is wele by þi sorow sene."
> (ll. 14356-361)

The French account attributes the curse which Job, reprehensibly, invokes on the day of his birth to the fact that his friends sit before him in silence for three days. So great is their grief at seeing his suffering and disfigurement that they cannot speak, but Job mistakenly believes that they will not speak to him because they abominate him for the malady of leprosy with which he has been stricken.[1] In the Bible the friends are merely observing the oriental custom which obliges those who come to condole with the bereaved to wait in silence until he wishes to speak.[2] The English version intensifies and makes explicit what might be understood from the Vulgate if we

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[1]B.N. MS fr. 9562, f. 165[v]: "Totes cestes lamentaciouns fist Job a Eliphat Themanites a Baldad suites et a Sophar Naamatites, les quex biers furent trois de ses amis par enchaisoun qils ne parlerent a lui com ils esturent deuaunt lui par lespace de treis iours. Cars il quidast qils auoient abhominacioun de lui pur la maladie del lepre dount il ert feruz."

[2]Pope, p. 25.

make allowance for the different cultures from which the two accounts arise. It says,

> Bot when þei come be fore his face,
> to mell with mowth had þei no myȝt.
> þei saw his syte so sad,
> for bale þer hertes myȝt breke.
> þei ware so mased and mad,
> A word þei myȝt not speke.
> (ll. 14395-400)

The silence in the English account lasted for six days, "and so þei satt in þat sessown,/syghand sex days with sorow sare" (ll. 14407-408). The Old French speaks of seven days, the number in the Bible, but later refers to the duration as three days.

The verdict of God is another point at which differences occur in both the Old French and the Middle English accounts which differ from the Bible, but differ also from one another. In the Bible Job is shown the wonders of God's creation and is convinced that he has spoken "unwisely, and things that above measure exceeded my knowledge" (xlii, 3). It is the friends however who are most severely censured since they are condemned for not having "spoken the thing that is right before me, as my servant Job hath" (xlii, 7) and it is suggested that if they cannot get Job to pray for them they will stand forever under divine displeasure. In the Old French version Job escapes all rebuke, but the friends are condemned because, by speaking too much to Job, they have provoked him into speaking

against God.[1] In the English account on the contrary it is the friends who emerge from the encounter unscathed while Job is soundly scolded, and ordered to recognize himself as unclean and evil in every way, and to make sacrifice for his guilt (ll. 15093-104).

Another difference between the Old French version and the Vulgate is that in the Old French God restores to Job his original ten children who were killed by the people of Saba, whereas in the Vulgate He replaces the original family by ten new children. The English account agrees with the Bible here saying,

> And aftur with his wyfe had hee
> VII semly suns, þe sothe to say,
> And III doyghturs; in þer degre
> were none fundon so fayre os þei.
> (ll. 15185-188)

Textually the Old French version makes relatively slight changes in the portions of the Book of Job which it makes use of. The English text, on the other hand, is extremely free in its handling of the phraseology of the Bible and takes much of the material in the discussion either from its author's imagination or from an intermediate source. In general the Old French text makes changes which reduce any harshness in the friends' speeches while

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[1] B.N. MS fr. 9562, f. 167^{v}-168^{r}: "Lors parla dieu a Sophar naamatites et a ses deus amys. Ha; Sophar sache tu que ma vengeance est commue vers toi et vers tes deus amys par enchaisoun que vous trois ne auez parlee a droit a Job moun serf. car Job nust pas tant largement parlee vers moi si vous ne ossez taunt parlee a lui." It is, perhaps, worthy of notice that in the Vulgate it is Eliphaz and not Sophar to whom God addresses his condemnation.

the English text sharpens their asperity and enlivens it with personal attacks.

In the Old French version it is by his example, Eliphaz says, that Job has taught the foolish. Fools have heard his words and have understood and men trembling with fear have been comforted. Job need not therefore despair that the plague of God has descended upon him.[1] This represents only a slight change in the corresponding speech in the Bible but what is a taunt there has become reassurance. The Book of Job reads,

> Behold, thou hast taught many, and thou hast strengthened the weary hands. Thy words have confirmed them that were staggering, and thou hast strengthened the trembling knees. But now the scourge is come upon thee, and thou faintest. It hath touched thee, and thou art troubled.
>
> (iv, 3-5)

In the Middle English version this taunting quality is intensified as Eliphaz says,

> "Iob . . . þou takes no tent
> to wrschep god als þou was wun.
> þou makes þi self an Innocent,
> as neuer defawt in þe was fun.
> þou was wonnt to wysch
> how we suld suffer wo.
> Now thynke me wele be þis
> þi self con noy3t do so."
> (ll. 14429-436)

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[1] B.N. MS fr. 9562, f. 165^{v}-166^{r}: "Voi Job et entend que tu as plusours enseignez de voz ensamples les quex furent de sauer despoillez. plusours laz de bienfaire as tu effortez de grant bien. Les fols qui ount oi tes paroles et toun sauer et les vnt conceuz, ta parole ount confermeez plusours gentz tremblauntz de pour as confortez. Et mais que la plaie dieu soit sur toi descendue, ne soiez ia pur ceo failli ne desesperee. Et mais que deu toi ad tochee, ne soiez pas pur ceo anuiez.

There is a lack of warmth in the factual way in which Eliphaz states, in the Bible, "Man is born to labour, and the bird to fly. Wherefore I will pray to the Lord, and address my speech to God. Who doth great and unsearchable and wonderful things without number" (v, 7-9). The whole tone of this is changed by the slight alterations which the French author makes in it, saying, "Man is born to labour and the birds to fly. And therefore I will pray to Our Lord for you and will direct my word to Him who does great and unsearchable things, who raises up the humble and redresses the deserving in plentifulness through joy."[1] Where Eliphaz in the Vulgate had addressed his prayers to God because of His greatness, almost as a means of self-defence, in the Old French the prayer is on Job's behalf and Eliphaz encourages Job to expect that the prayer will be answered because of the greatness of God. As is usual with the Middle English paraphrase, the text of the original is not at all closely reproduced there. However Eliphaz says something which seems to start as an allusion to this passage, but which ends with none of the benevolence of the Old French version:

> "So ere we ylkon wroy3t
> to trayvell tray and teyne
> And sorows sere vnsoy3t,
> als our elders haue beyne.

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[1] B.N. MS fr. 9562, 166^{r}: "Hom nasquist a trauail et lui oisels a voler. Et pur ceo prieroi notre sire pur toi et lui turnerai ma parole, le quel fait graunt chose noun cerchable, le quel fait les humbles en haltesce et adresce les deseruauntz en bountee par halegretee."

And sen þou says þi self is on
þat neuer greued in no degre,
ffayre wele, we lefe þe here allone,
for oþer ways to wend haue we."
(ll. 14925-932)

Neither the Middle English poet nor the Old French prose uses exactly the cruel words of Baldad in the Bible, "Although thy children have sinned against him, and he hath left them in the hands of their iniquity. . . . If thou wilt walk clean and upright: he will presently awake unto thee, and will make the dwelling of thy justice peaceable" (viii, 4 and 6). The Metrical Paraphrase omits them altogether, preferring to expand the verse which chides Job for questioning the justice of God (viii, 3). The Old French work however again shows the tendency to infuse gentleness into the dialogue and says, "If your sons have sinned against God and he has left them in the hands of iniquity, you have only to pray to God for them and for your prayer he will pardon them their sin in the habitation of your righteousness."[1]

These illustrations might be augmented by many others but they would all still point to the same conclusion. Neither in the selection made from the Book of Job and the departures from it, nor in the tone of the works is there any resemblance between the Old French prose work and the Middle English poem. The prose work follows its source with considerable fidelity and the changes it makes

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[1] B.N. MS 9562, f. 166^{v}: "si tes fitz eient pecchez countre dieu et il les eu lessee es mains de iniqitee tu tant soulement prierez dieu pur eux et cil pur ta priere les pardorra lour pecchez al habitacioun de ta droiture."

might almost be accounted for by considering them errors in translation. The poet has used the Book of Job as a point of departure, if indeed he had ever read it in its entirety. It is unlikely that the Book of Job was his source but it is equally unlikely that he followed the text of an Old French poem of which the prose work considered here is a rendering.

APPENDIX C

1. The Lessons of the Dirige in English

Nine passages from the Book of Job were made very familiar to the mediaeval world because they formed the lessons of the Matins Office of the Dead, the Dirige as it was popularly called. This office was contained in the Breviary but it also formed a part of the laymen's version of this prayer book, the Primarium or Prymer, which usually contained the Hours of the Blessed Virgin, the seven Penitential Psalms, the fifteen Gradual Psalms, the Litany, the Office of the Dead and the Commendations.[1]

Maskell maintains that the title "The Prymer" refers to the English translation of the Primarium and has always done so,[2] but Brown assumes that there was a Latin version which was called the "Prymer" in Chaucer's time as it was in the sixteenth century.[3] The point is of interest since the earliest known mention of a Prymer is of 1323[4] and there is no other evidence of an English version at so early a date.

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[1]Brown, Miracle, p. 127.

[2]Maskell, Monumenta, III, xxxv.

[3]Brown, pp. 127-129.

[4]See Littlehales, The Prymer (EETS), Pt. II, p. xliii. Brown gives the earliest reference as 1297 but cites Littlehales (EETS, No. 109, Pt. II, p. 2) as his authority and I have been unable to locate his reference.

Numerous manuscripts of the Latin version are to be found in almost every large collection of manuscripts in the British Isles, but a scant fifteen English manuscripts have survived although the lessons of the Dirige with which we are chiefly concerned here are preserved in the Wheatley Manuscript as well.[1]

These fifteen Prymers were apparently all that survived the destruction of such books which followed a Statute at Large of 1549 ordering that liturgical books in Latin or English previous to the new Prayer Book should be "extinguished, burnt or destroyed".[2] The numerous Latin manuscripts which exist seems evidence against Hennig's belief that the statute was faithfully carried out,[3] but Littlehales had previously accounted for the greater number of manuscripts of the Latin text on the grounds that they were themselves far more expensive books than their English counterparts and were owned by people of a different class in society.[4] Surviving copies of the Latin version are usually expensive books, beautifully written and

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[1]Manuscripts of the English Prymer include, at the British Museum, Add. 17010, 17011, 27592 (Dirige incomplete), and 36683; at the Bodleian, Oxford, Ashmolean 1288, Douce 246 and 275, Bodley 85, Rawlinson C.699; at Queen's College, Oxford, 324; at Cambridge University Library, Dd.11.82; at Emmanuel College, 246; at St. John's, G.24; at Glasgow University, Hunterian V.6.22 and V.8.15. The Wheatley MS is British Museum Add. 39574.

[2]Quoted by Hennig, p. 331.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Littlehales, The Prymer or Prayer-Book (Longmans), II, vii-ix.

handsomely illustrated. The English version manuscripts, on the other hand, are relatively crude and sparingly illustrated. In consequence the Latin Prymers might be preserved because of their beauty even by those who had no desire to circumvent the law while no such motive protected the English text. Moreover, Littlehales points out, the homes of those who would be able to own the Latin texts would provide more places in which a book might be hidden or might simply lie forgotten than would the homes of the owners of English Prymers. Finally, he suggests the possibility that a rich man or a member of the aristocracy might safely elude a law which was strictly enforced on lower classes of society. Although there may have been few English Prymers produced it seems more likely that the surviving fifteen are the merest remnant of a great many which once existed.

The texts of the sixteen copies of the lessons of the Dirige which the Prymers and the Wheatley Manuscript provide show that more than one translation of this office was made into English and in consequence more than one translation of its lessons from the Book of Job.

Edmund Bishop believes that the English Prymer appeared in the fourteenth century, "possibly in the second half rather than the first",[1] and Miss Deanesly finds in a treatise written for nuns before 1401 a reference which speaks of the English Prymer's use by "some now in these

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[1]Bishop, "On the Origin of the Prymer", introduction to Littlehales, The Prymer, EETS, II, xxxviii.

days", which, she suggests, indicates that the custom was a recent one.[1] The fifteen surviving manuscripts have been dated in the period between 1381 and 1450,[2] but there is reason to suspect that there were Prymers in existence slightly before this. Five manuscripts contain an entry in the calendar for 16 July that King Richard was crowned on this day in 1377.[3] Of these two, MSS Hunterian V.6.22 and B.M. Add. 27592, also contain an entry for 21 May, 1382, this one recording the earthquake that occurred on that day. Both these manuscripts appear to be in the same hand and both have the same peculiarity in the wording of these notes. While the note concerning the coronation speaks of "þe 3ere of god", that concerning the earthquake uses the more usual term, the "3er of oure lord". It does not seem unlikely therefore, since both manuscripts are in the same hand throughout, that they were made from a common master copy in which the entries were made at different times, the second being made at the time of the event in a text which was already in existence and in which the earlier note had been made either at the time of the coronation or fairly soon thereafter.

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[1]Deanesly, The Lollard Bible, p. 337.

[2]Birchenough, p. 181. Bloomfield (The Seven Deadly Sins, p. 119) speaks of "Maskell's Sarum Prymer, and says it is the earliest known Church Prymer in English, of doubtful date but probably of the later twelfth or early thirteenth century. The Prymer once owned by Maskell is now B.M. MS 17010 and is dated not later than 1410 by Maskell, III, v.

[3]The manuscripts which contain this entry are Add. 27592, Douce 246, St. John's G.24, Emmanuel 246 and Hunterian V.6.22.

The Prymers which contain this reference to the coronation of Richard II also have a verbal resemblance and form a group which I refer to here as Class A. To this group belong also MSS ~~Hunterian V.8.15, dated 1396;~~[1] Bodley 85, c. 1410;[2] Ashmolean 1288, c. 1400-1420;[3] Douce 275, c. 1420;[4] and Queen's 324, c. 1420.[5] The version of the lessons of the Dirige in the Wheatley Manuscript, assigned to the beginning of the fifteenth century,[6] resembles the version in these Class A Prymers. The rest of the manuscripts which differ from these and are similar to one another I have grouped together as Class B.

The textual resemblances among the various members of these two groups is far from total identity, but the Prymers of Class A frequently agree with one another in the choice of a word or a phrase and differ from the corresponding word or phrase in the Prymers of Class B. In lesson one, for example, Class A Prymers give "forsothe my dayes been nouȝt" where Class B Prymers have "for my dayes ben noȝt"; "dawynge" or "dawenynge" as compared with "eerli"; "heuy" compared with "greuous"; "why takest thou

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[1]~~A note in the Easter table of this MS reads: "þis table was maad on þe xxvi day of marche in þe ȝeer of our Lord MCCCLXXXXVI."~~

[2]Maskell, III, xxxvi.

[3]Littlehales, The Prymer (Longmans), II, 4.

[4]Maskell, Monumenta, III, xxxvi.

[5]Ibid., III, xxxvii, n. 62.

[6]Day, p. vii.

nou3t a wey my synne" and "wherefore berest thou nou3t a way my wickidnesse", in comparison with "doist þou not" and "takest þou nou3t"; "poudre" instead of "dust"; "withstonde" instead of "abide".[1] A more complete indication of the differences between the Prymers of Class A and those of Class B can be gained by comparing the column headed "Add. 17011" with those headed "Emmanuel 246" and "St. John's G.24" in the chart at the end of this appendix.

Although the various Class A Prymers bear a strong resemblance to one another it is possible to see within this class sub-groups consisting of: (1) St. John's G.24, Bodley 85 and Wheatley; (2) Emmanuel 246, Hunterian V.6.22 and Add. 27592; and (3) Douce 246, Douce 275, Queen's 324 and Ashmolean 1288. This latter classification is however extremely tenuous. Although the members of each section seem to vary from those of the other sections more often than they vary from one another, there are many exceptions. Thus, Wheatley is more often like St. John's G.24 than like the manuscripts of the other sub-groups, yet at the opening of lesson two it adopts the wording of Emmanuel 246 ("It anoieþ my soule) while St. John's G.24 says, "My soule is anoy3ed". Queen's 324 on the other hand, although generally like Douce 246 which here reads, "It anoyeþ my soule", makes the opposite variation to that of the Wheatley MS and says, "My soule is anoied". It is only on the

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[1] It can hardly be necessary to point out that the spelling in the various manuscripts is not as consistent as it appears here. These quotations are taken from Emmanuel 246 and Add. 17011.

grounds of numerical frequency that the sub-grouping can be defended, and with language mere numbers do not always reflect the most important aspects of resemblance.

The collation shows an even stronger resemblance between the Class B type versions of the lessons than between the Class A type, and shows a much more clearly defined sub-classification of MSS Add. 17010 and 17011 on the one hand, and MSS CU. Dd.11.82, Rawlinson C.699 and Add. 36863 on the other. This is particularly evident in the ninth lesson which the latter group seems to have borrowed from the earlier Class A Prymers. In the text of this lesson MSS C.699, CU. Dd.11.82 and Add. 26682 differ from Emmanuel 246 only slightly more than do the other manuscripts of that group. In fact at times they differ from it in just the same way as the other manuscripts of its group do.

One other factor should be considered in connection with the classifying of these Prymers. On the basis of the liturgical content Littlehales prepared in 1897 a collation of thirteen of the manuscripts, that is of all except the Hunterian V.8.15 which he excluded because it contained both English and Latin texts, and B.M. Add. 36683 which he does not seem to have known. His collation dealt with the whole text of these Prymers, not just the Dirige, and Littlehales concluded from it that the variety of manuscripts still in existence furnished

> means to obtain a correct text of each of the two great classes of Prymers in the vernacular: one class (an extended form) consisting of MSS 17011, Ash, and

M; the other (a slightly shorter form), including all the remaining MSS.[1]

(Ash. is Ashmolean 1288 and M, then the property of Maskell, is now B.M. Add. MS 17010.) Speaking of this collation, Hennig says that it "has obscured the fact that in the few Primers which are still preserved we have to distinguish at least three or four versions."[2]

To some extent an examination of the text of the lessons from the Book of Job in the Prymers bears out Hennig's remark. For one thing, on the basis of wording the existing manuscripts fall into a slightly different grouping from that which Littlehales makes on the grounds of liturgical structure. Littlehales would group together MSS 17010, 17011 and Ashmolean 1288, and would put Add. 27592, Douce 246, Douce 275, Bodley 85, Rawlinson C.699, Queen's 324, CU. Dd.11.82, Emmanuel 246, St. John's G.24 and Hunterian V.6.22 together in another group. On the basis of the language of the lessons of the Dirige however one would class Rawlinson C.699 and CU. Dd.11.82 with Add. 17010 and 17011 (and also Add. 36683), and would place Ashmolean 1288 with the others in Class A. It seems therefore that Ashmolean 1288 is in Class B liturgically but Class A verbally, while Rawlinson C.699 and CU. Dd.11.82 reverse this. It is worthy of note however that the last two, with Add. 36683, form a sub-group to Class B, especially in the wording of their responsories, and

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[1] Littlehales, The Prymer (Longmans), II, vi.

[2] Hennig, p. 326.

make that curious shift to the wording of Class A in the ninth lesson.

The translation of the lessons from the Book of Job in Class B bears a very strong resemblance to another translation made at about this time--the Book of Job contained in the Purvey text of the Wycliffite Bible. There can in fact be no doubt that the Prymers borrowed their text of the lessons of the Dirige from the Purvey translation. The Prymers make some alterations as a concession to the liturgical purpose of the office. Thus the words flow a little more smoothly in the Prymer and may have made the meaning a little easier to grasp in oral presentation than the Purvey translation would do. From the collation of the Class B Prymers it would seem that each of the sub-groups represents a different adaptation of the Purvey text for the liturgy and that the adaptor whose work lies behind CU. Dd.11.82, Rawlinson C.699 and Add. 36683 dealt much more freely with his source than did the other adaptor. The Purvey translation was completed in the middle of the last decade of the fourteenth century and therefore the Prymers which depend on it must have been prepared after that time. Since the manuscripts in question are all of the fifteenth century[1] this presents no difficulty.

There seems however little reason to suppose that the text of the lessons of the Dirige in the earlier

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[1]Littlehales, The Prymer (Longmans), II, 2-10.

Prymers used the Hereford version. Forshall and Madden believe that the Hereford version had reached Baruch, iii, 20 in May, 1382 when Hereford was summoned to London to answer charges of heresy.[1] While it is not impossible that the Book of Job had been completed in time to be used by the translator of the Prymer whose work was under way some time between 1377 and 1381 the texts of the two versions bear so little resemblance to one another that it seems advisable to accept the more probable interpretation of the external evidence which suggests that the Prymer version is an independent translation.

2. The Prymer and "The Lessouns of the Dirige"

A comparison of the text of the anonymous poem, "The Lessouns of the Dirige" has led me to conclude that the author used as his source an English Prymer of the type represented by St. John's College, Cambridge, MS G.24. For purposes of comparison the two texts have been placed in adjacent columns in the collation at the end of this appendix.

All the Prymers of the Class A type are closer to the language of "The Lessouns of the Dirige" than are those of Class B type but the St. John's manuscript represents a text which is more nearly like the poem than the others of this earlier prayerbook, even than its nearest rivals the Wheatley Manuscript and Bodley 85.

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[1] The Holy Bible, I, xvii.

Where a difference in expression occurs between the earlier Prymer (represented in the columns headed "Emmanuel 246" and "St. John's G.24") and the later version (under the heading "Add. 17011") the poet has consistently chosen the wording of the earlier version.

In its paraphrase of lesson one the poem uses the words "ffor soþe" (Stanza 1, l. 2), "dawenynge" (2, l. 5), "heuy" (4, l. 1), "takest" (4, l. 3), and "withstonde" (4, l. 8) with all of which the Emmanuel and St. John's type Prymers agree while those of the type of Add. 17011 use "for", "eerly", "greuous", "doost", "takest", and "abyde". In a single instance the poet has chosen the word used in the later version of the Prymer, "dust" (4, l. 5), while the earlier versions used "poudre".

In the second lesson the poem chooses "leue" (5, l. 2), "dampne" (5, l. 5), "chalenge . . . and bere . . . doun" (6, l. 1), "seche" (8, l. 1), "ransake" (8, l. 2), "skape" (8, l. 6), like Emmanuel and St. John's but unlike Add. 17011 which uses "lete", "condempne", "falsly chalengest & oppressist", "enquere", "encerche" and "delyuere". On two points St. John's and Bodley 85 alone agree with the poem all other manuscripts using a different wording. These relate to the lines, "My soul of my self anoyed isse" (5, l. 1) and "Wheþer þyn eyȝen ben fleschlye" (7, l. 1). This corresponds with the wording in St. John's and Bodley 85 which say, "My soule is anoyȝed of my lyf" and "Whethir þyn eyen be fleschschi" whereas all the others, the Wheatley MS and those like Emmanuel as well as

those like Add. 17011, use "It anoyeþ my soule of my liyf" and "Wher fleschly yȝen ben to þe."

In the third lesson the poem uses "shope" (9, l. 2), "fen" (10, l. 2), "lede" (10, l. 3), and "y am aschamed" (14, l. 3) as do the versions like Emmanuel and St. John's, except that the Wheatley MS uses "myre" where the others use "fen". The Prymers of the type of Add. 17011 use instead "foormed" (except C.699 which agrees with the other type), "brynge" and "me schameþ" (except CU., C.699 and 36683). The poem agrees with Add. 17010 and 17011 in using "dust" (10, l. 3), whereas the other versions use "poudre", repeating the variation of the first lesson.

In the fourth lesson the poet chooses to use "ȝouþe" (19, l. 6) as do the versions like Emmanuel and St. John's rather than "ȝonge wexynge age" as do those like Add. 17011 except CU. and V.8.15 which use "waxinge age". The poem also chooses the word "synne" (20, l. 1) where all the Prymers except St. John's, Bodley 85, D.275 and Q.324 use "stockys". The exceptions use "synewe" which suggests that the poet also used this word but a scribal error made the alteration.

In lesson five the poet's selection of "ffulfilde" (22, l. 4), "self" (23, l. 7), "lede" (24, l. 4), and "mow rest" (26, l. 2) again aligns the poem with the Prymers like Emmanuel and St. John's, and distinguishes it from Prymers like Add. 17011 which use "fillyd", "same", "brynge", and "haue reste". The poem's use of "holdest"

(24, l. 1) reinforces its particular resemblance to St. John's and Bodley 85 which both use this word whereas the Wheatley MS and those like Emmanuel use "letist" while Add. 17011 and those like it use "gessist". The evidence of some of the Prymers suggests that the word "harde" (26, l. 4) in the poem should read "hired". In this it would resemble St. John's, Bodley 85 and D.275 while the others, including the Wheatley MS, use the word "marchaunt" here to translate the Vulgate's mercenarii.

In lesson six the poem's use of "wraþþe" (28, l. 2) and "fyȝt" (29, l. 6) makes it resemble the Prymers of the types of Emmanuel and St. John's and makes it different from those like Add. 17011 which use "greete vengaunce" and "holde knythode" or "travele". Like the poem, St. John's and Bodley 85 use "folwyng" (29, l. 8) whereas Wheatley and those like Emmanuel use "goostli lickenes" and those like Add. 17011 use "chaungynge". Most of the manuscripts like Emmanuel and St. John's use "trowest þou auȝt" as does the poem (29, l. 3) while the others use a variety of expressions. In one case the poem agrees with Add. 17011 and Prymers of its type by using "steppes" (30, l. 5) while the others used "goynges".

In lesson seven the poem uses "gost" (32, l. 1), "wasted" (33, l. 5) "bedded" (33, l. 8), and "my fader and moder" (34, l. 2) as do manuscripts like Emmanuel and St. John's but differs from those like Add. 17011 which use "spirit", "arayed" and "my fader". In using "graue byleueth" (32, l. 4) the poem is somewhat like St. John's "byriel byleueþ", less

like Wheatley, Bodley 85 and Emmanuel which use "ouere bileeueþ" and unlike type-Add. 17011 which uses "sepulcre is leefte".

In lesson eight the poem uses "bones" to translate os, a correct rendering which was also made by St. John's, Bodley 85 and type-Add. 17011, while Wheatley and type-Emmanuel translate it incorrectly as "mouþ". The poem's "mercy on" makes it like the manuscripts of the Add. 17011 type in this, differing slightly from St. John's which has "mercy of" and greatly from all the others which use "rewþe on". This is one of the few occasions on which Bodley 85 is not aligned with St. John's in resembling the poem when all or most of the other manuscripts depart from it. The poem chooses "bylapped" (38, l. 4) and "yput" (38, l. 8) as do manuscripts like St. John's and Emmanuel whereas Add. 17011 and its fellows use "be cumpased" and "kept". The poem's request that the words be graven in flint "withoute" a chisel (37, l. 8) suggests a source which, like type-Add. 17011 and type-Emmanuel or Wheatley which use "wiþ" rather than St. John's and Bodley which use "of" but possibly the suggestion of magic is the poet's own idea.

The poem's choice in the ninth lesson of "broȝt (40, l. 1), "fordon" (40, l. 2), "born from wombe to berelis" (40, l. 6), "erthe of derkenes" (41, l. 3) and "gryslyhede" (41, l. 8) is exactly like the selection made in St. John's G.24 but different in some respect from that of all the other manuscripts. The variety here is so

great that it will perhaps be easier for the reader to examine the collation for the details. One additional correction of the text of the poem is suggested by the word "keuered" which the Prymers use where the poem has "curyd" (41, l. 4).

Because of the consistency with which the poet uses the word found in Prymers which contain the earlier version of the office there is little room to doubt that he used an English source rather than a Latin one and of the English Prymers one which resembled St. John's G.24 more than any existing version. His text resembles only St. John's G.24, Bodley 85 and D.275 in using "hired" in lesson five; only St. John's G.24 and Bodley 85 in using "My soul of my self anoyed isse" and "wheþer þyn eyȝen ben fleschlye" in lesson two, and "folwyng" in lesson six; only St. John's G.24 and D.275 in using "erthe of derknesses" in lesson nine; and is like St. John's G.24 alone in using "gryselychhede" in lesson nine. It therefore seems safe to assume that the poet's Prymer was very like St. John's G.24 and to suggest that the few occasions on which the poet uses a different word where he might have agreed with this manuscript are due to variations from his source which he chose to make.

Hereford Translation

Lesson One (Job vii. 16-20)

Spare to me, Lord, no thing forsothe ben my dayes. What is a man, for thou magnefiest hym? or what thou settis to ayen hym thin herte? Thou visitist hym the morutid, and feerli thou prouest hym. Hou longe thou sparist not to me, ne letist me, that I swolewe my spotele? I haue synned; what shal I don to thee, O! kepere of men? Whi hast thou put me contrarie to thee,

Emmanuel 246

(Collated with Ash., D.246, D.275, Q.324, 27592, V.6.22)

Spare me lord forsobe[1] my daies ben nouȝt what is man þat þou magnifiest hym[2] or wherto settist þou þin herte toward[3] him. þou visitest him in þe dawnyng[4] & sodeynliche þou prouest him. how longe sparest þou not me ne suffrest þat y swelowe[5] my spotel. I haue synned. what shal y do to þee[6] þou keper of men. whi hast þou sette me contrarie to þee

[1]Ash., for. [2]Q.324, magnyfist. [3]D.246, D.275, Q.324, ayeines. [4]27592, V.6.22, dawinge, Q.324, in dawnynge. [5]27592, swewe. [6]Ash., D.246, D.275, Q.324, 27592, V.6.22, O þou.

Purvey Translation

Lesson One

Lord, spare thou me, for my daies ben nouȝt. What is a man, for thou magnifiest hym? ether what settist thou thin herte toward hym? Thou visitist hym eerly, and sudeynli thou preuest hym. Hou long sparist thou not me, nether suffrist me, that Y swolowe my spotele? Y haue synned; A! thou kepere of men, what schal Y do to thee? Whi hast thou set me contrarie to thee,

Add. 17011

(Collated with 17010, CU., C.699, 36683, V.8.15)

Lord spare þou me: for my dayes ben nouȝt. What is a man[1] for[2] þou magnyfyest him; eþer what settist þou þin herte toward him. þou visit[ist] him eerly; and sodeynly þou prouest him. How longe sparyst not to me;[3] neþer suffrest me þat[4] I swolewe my spotele; I have synned O[5] þou kepere of men. What schal I do to þee; Whi hast þou sette me contrarie to þee:

[1]CU., V.8.15, what is man. [2]17010, V.8.15, that thou. [3]17010, Sparest thou, CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, sparest þou not me. [4]CU., suffrest þat y. [5]17010, A.

St. John's G.24

(Collated with Wh. and Bod.)

Lesson One

Spare me lord; forsothe my dayes been nouȝt. What is man that thou makest gret.[1] or wer to settest thou thyn herte toward hym. Thou uisitest hym in the dawynge; and sodeynliche thou prouest hym. How longe sparest thou nouȝt me. ne suffrest that y swolwe my spotel; I haue synned. What schal y do to thee thou[2] kepere of men: Whi hast thou sett me contrarie to the.

[1]Wh., magnifiest hym.
[2]Wh., Bod., O þou.

The Lessouns of the Dirige

1. Almyȝty god, lord, me spare,
ffor sobe, my dayes werkys ben nouȝt.
My wittes on nyȝtes wrong y ware,
þerof longe ȝeres mon be wroȝt.
þenke, man, þou ware born ful bare
In-to þis world what hastou broȝt?
Out of þis world whanne þou schalt fare,
þou schalt bere with þe ryȝt nouȝt.

2. What is man of gret renoun,
That of hym self makeþ aldre mest?
Why settyst þou þy herte ayen resoun,
And sodeynly repreuest hem mest?
In þe dawenynge þou souȝtest hem vpsodoun.
Contrary to godis hest
þou purchastest þy saule helle prisoun;
For fleschely lust, wormes fest.

3. How longe sparest þou me nouȝt,
To swolwe my spotel, bote it me gryue?
þou keper of men, alle þyng hast wroȝt;
What shal y do to þyn byhyue?
What hastou set me contrarie þy þouȝt,
þy holy lawe to repryue?
Lord, whenne my werkis mon be souȝt,
Dyspyce me nouȝt in my myschyue!

I (Job vii. 20b-21)

Hereford Translation

and am maad to myself heuy? Whi takist thou not awei my synne, and whi dost thou not awei my wickidnesse? Lo! nowe in pouder I slepe, and if erli thou seche me, I shal not stonde stille.

A

Emmanuel 246

& I am maad heuy to my silf. whi takist þou not a wei my synne. & wherfore berist þou not a wei my wickidnes. lo now I slepe in poudre. & if þou seche me eerli I shal not wistonde.

R. I bileue þat myn a3en bier lyueþ & I shal rise[7] of þe erþe in þe laste dai and in my fleishe y shal se god my sauyour. V. whom I my silf shal se[8] and noon oþere.[9] R. & myn i3en shulen se him[10] And in my fleish I shal se god my saueour.

[7]D.246, D.275, i am to rise. [8]D.246, am to see. [9]V.6.22, not beyng anoþer. [10]D.275, ben to see, D.246, ben to see him.

Purvey Translation

and Y am maad greuouse to my silf? Whi doist thou not awei my sinne, and whi takist thou not awei my wickidnesse? Lo! now Y schal slepe in dust, and if thou sekist me eerli, Y schal not abide.

B

dd. 17011

and I am maad greuous to my sylf. Whi doost þou not awey my synne. and whi takest þou not a wey y wickidnes; Lo now I schal slepe in duste;[6] and if þou sekist me eerly; I schal not abyde.

R. I bileue þat myn a3enbyer lyueþ & I am to ryse of[7] þe eerþe in þe laste day. And in my flesche I schal se god my sauyour. V. Whom y my sylf schal se & noon oþer[8] and myn y3en ben to se.[9] R. And in my flesche I schal se god my sauyour.

[6]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, y slepe in poudur. [7]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, schal rise out of. [8]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, beynge not anoþir. [9]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, schulen biholde him.

A

St. John's G.24

and y am maad heuy to myself; Why takest thou nou3t a wey my synne; and wherfore berest thou nou3t a wey my wickednesse;[3] Lo now y slepe in poudre; and 3if thou seche me erly; y schal nou3t withstonde.

R. I beleue that myn a3enbyere lyfeth and y schal ryse[4] of the . . . erthe in the laste day. and in my fleysch y schal se god my saueour. V. Wha[m] y my self schal se & noon other. and myn eyen schullen se hym.

R. And in my fleysch y schal se god my saueour.

[3]Bod., awy wikednes.

[4]Bod., y am to rise.

The Lessouns of the Dirige

4. Ful heuy to my self y am withynne;
My werkes, on me heuye isse.
Why takest þou no3t away my synne,
And bere from me my wykednesse?
I slepe in dust, for we ben kynne,
For erthe clayme3 me for hisse.
To seche me eerly, 3if þou begynne,
I ne may withstonde þe ywisse.

Hereford Translation

Lesson Two (Job x, 1-3)

It noȝeth me of my lif; I shal leten aȝen me my speche, I shal speke in bitternesse to my soule. I shal sei to God, Wille thou not me condempne; shew to me, whi me so thou demest. Whether good to thee it semeth, if thou chalenge and opresse me, the werk of thin hondis; and the counseil of vnpitous men thou helpe?

A
Emmanuel 246

It noieþ[1] my soule[2] of my lijf. and I shal leeue[3] my speche aȝens me. In bitternesse I shal speke. to my soule. I shal seie to god. wole þou not dampne me. Shew to me whi þou wolt deme me þus. wheþer it þenke þee[4] good if þou chalenge & bere doun me þe werk of þin hondis. & þou helpe þe counseil of wickid men.

[1]Ash., D.246, D.275, 27592, anoieþ. [2]Q.324, My soule is anoied. [3]Ash., bileeue. [4]D.275, Q.324, weþer þe þenke good.

Purvey Translation

Lesson Two

Yt anoieth my soule of my lijf; Y schal lete my speche aȝens me, Y schal speke in the bitternesse of my soule. Y schal seie to God, Nyle thou condempne me; schewe thou to me, whi thou demest me so. Whether it semeth good to thee, if thou falsli chalengist and oppressist me, the werk of thin hondis; and if thou helpist the counsel of wickid men?

B
Add. 17011

It anoyeþ my soule of my liyf; I schal lete my speche aȝens me. I schal speke in þe bytyrnes of my soule; I schal seye to god. nyle þou condempne me. Schew þou to me whi þou deemest[1] me so. Wher[2] it semeþ good to þee if þou falsly[3] chalengest & oppressist me þe werk of þin hondis & helpist[4] þe counceyl of wickyd men;

[1]17010, deniyst. [2]V.8.15, whi. [3]C.699, 36683, þou chalengist. [4]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, & if þou helpe.

St. John's G.24

Lesson Two

My soule is anoyȝed[1] of my lyf; y[2] schal leeue my speche aȝens me. In bitternesse y schal speke to my soule; y schal seye to god. wille thou nouȝt dampne me. Schew to me why thou demest[3] me thus;[4] Whethir hit thynke the good ȝif thow chalenge and bere down me. the werk of thyn handes. and thou help the conceyles[5] of wicked men;

[1]Wh., It anoieþ my soule. [2]Wh., and I. [3]Wh., wilt deme. [4]Bod., omits "thus". [5]Wh., Bod., counceyl.

The Lessouns of the Dirige

5. My soul of my self anoyed isse.
I shal leue my speche aȝens me.
To my soul y wole speke in bitternesse,
And y shal saye to god so fre:
Wyl noȝt dampne me fro blisse,
Shew me þe cause, þat wolde I se,
Why demestou me þoȝ y dede mysse,
Lord, whether þe þynke good to þe.

6. ȝif þou chalenge my werk, and bere me doun,
Me that am werk of þy hande,
And þou in consayl helpe ȝe moun
To wykked men here synnes withstande,
Wiþ repentaunce and sorwful soun
May launce hem from þe deuelys bande:
To ȝerde of loue y moste me boun;
Lord, me chastice wiþ þat wande.

II (Job x.4-7)

Hereford Translation

Whether fleshly eȝen ben to thee, or as seeth a man, and thou shalt seen? Whether as the dazis of man, thi dazes, and thi ȝeris ben as mannys tymes; that thou seche my wickidnesse, and my synne thou serche? And wite thou, for no thing vnpitous I dide; sithen ther is no man, that of thin hond mai deliuere?

A

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wheþer fleishli eiȝen be to þee. or þou seest as a man seeþ. wheþer as daies of men[5] þi daies. or þi ȝeeris ben as mennes tymes þat þou seche my wickidnes & ransake my synne. & wite þou[6] for I haue no wickid þing don siþ þere is no man[7] þat may ascape from þin hoond.
R. Thou þat reredist[8] aȝen laȝar[9] of þe monument stinkinge. þou lord ȝyue hem reste & place of forȝyuenes.

[5]D.246, D.275, Q.324, man. [6]D.275, þou wite. [7]27592, þere is man. [8]D.246, areredest. [9]Q.324, areridist laȝar aȝen.

Purvey Translation

Whethir fleischli iȝen ben to thee, ethir, as a man seeth, also thou schalt se? Whether thi daies ben as the daies of man, and thi ȝeeris ben as mannus tymes; that thou enquere my wickidnesse, and enserche my synne? And wite, that Y haue do no wickid thing; sithen no man is, that may delyuere fro thin hond?

B

Add. 17011

Wher fleschly vȝen ben to be. eþer as a man [seeth]* also[5] þou schalt se; Wher þi dayes ben as þe dayes of man; and þi ȝeeris ben as mannys tymes; þat þou enquere my wickydnes & encerche my synne; and wyte þou[6] I haue doo no wickid þing,[7] sythen no man is þat may delyuere fro þin hond.
R. þou þat reysedeste[8] stynkynge lazar fro þe[9] graue. Lord ȝyfe to hem reste in þe place[10] of forȝeuenes.

*Supplied from 17010.
[5]V.8.15, omits "also". [6]17010, CU., V.8.15, 36683, þat. [7]36683, wickidnesse. [8]CU., C.699, 36683, reisidist aȝen. [9]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, his. [10]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, þou, lord, graunte hem reste & places (V.8.15, C.699, 36683, place).

A

St. John's G.24

Whethir þyn even be flesch-schi.[6] or thou seest as man schal se;[7] Whethir thyne dayes be as mennes dayes;[8] or thyne ȝeres been as mennes tymes; That thou seche my wickednesse and ransake my synne; and that thou[9] wite that[10] y haue no thyng yuel[11] doon; sithþe ther is noon[12] that may a scape fro thyn hond.
R. Thou that reredest[13] aȝen laȝar of the monument stynkynge. þow lord ȝef hem reste and place[14] of forȝeuenesse.

[6]Wh., fleischly iȝen ben to þee. [7]Wh. omits "schal se". [8]Wh., as dayes of men þi dayes. [9]Bod., and thou. [10]Wh., and [wite] þou for. [11]Wh., no wickid þing. [12]Wh., no man. [13]Wh., reisidist up. [14]Wh., space.

The Lessouns of the Dirige

7. Wheþer þyn eyȝen þen fleschlye,
Or þou seest as man shal see?
Or þy dayes so sone syȝe,
As other mennys dayes be?
Or þy ȝerys riȝt so hye,
As mennys tymes in here degre?--
For þou art god shal neuere dyȝe,
For sorwe and deþ shal from the fle--

8. That þou seche my wykked-nesse,
And ransake my synne,
And wyte I haue noȝt doun mysse,
Bote hert and soule clene withynne.
Soþes þer no man nesse
May skape þyn hond, and from the twynne,
Bote repentaunce and mercy kesse.
þat now ben frendis, lord, make hem kynne.

A

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V. he þat is to come to deme þe quike & þe deed[10] & þe world bi fier. R. þou lord ȝif hem reste & place of forȝyuenes.

[10]Ash., D.246, D.275, quike & dede, Q.324, þe qwike & dede.

B

Add. 17011

V. He þat is to come for to deeme[11] þe quyke & þe deede & þe world bee fyre. R. Lord ȝyue to hem reste in þe place[12] of forȝyuenes.

[11]CU., V.8.15, C.699, Thou þat art to come to deme.

[12]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36693, Thou, lord, graunte (V.8.15, 36683, ȝyue) hem reste, & place.

A

St. John's G.24

V. He that is to come to deme quyk and deede; and the world be fier. R. þow lord ȝyfe hem reste and place[15] of forȝeuenesse.

[15]Wh., space.

Hereford Translation

Lesson Three (Job X, 8-10)

Thin hondis maden me, and formeden me al in enuyroun; and so feerli thou puttist me doun. Haue mynde, I beseche, that as clei thou madist me, and in to pouder thou shalt a3een bringe me. Whether not as mylc thou hast mylkid me, and as chese thou hast crudded me?

A
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Thyne hondes maden me & shope me alle in compas & so[1] sodeynli þou castist[2] me down. Haue mynde I biseche þee[3] þat as fenne þou hast maad me & in to poudre þou shalt a3en lede me[4] ne hastow softid[5] me as mylk & croddedest me as chese.

[1]Ash., D.246, lo.
[2]V.6.22, shast [lt] kest.
[3]Ash., D.246, biseche þat.
[4]D.246, D.275, Q.324, cleye. Ash., schalt lede me.
[5]Ash., not susteyned me.

Purvey Translation

Lesson Three

Thin hondis han maad me, and han formed me al in cumpas; and thou castist me doun so sodeynli. Y preye, haue thou mynde, that thou madist me as cley, and schalt brynge me a3en in to dust. Whether thou hast not mylkid me as mylk, and hast cruddid me togidere as cheese?

B
Add. 17011

þine hondis maden[1] me & hii[2] foormed me al in coumpas; and þou castest me dooun soodenly. I preye[3] þe haue[4] þou mynde þat þou madest me as[5] cley; and[6] schalt brynge[7] me a3en in to duste;[8] Where þou hast not mylkyd[9] me as mylke; and hast crudded me to gidere[10] as cheese;

[1]C.699, V.8.15, han maad.
[2]17010, CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, han.
[3]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, so sodeynli. I biseche.
[4]17010, I preie haue.
[5]CU., V.8.15, of.
[6]36683, and þou.
[7]V.8.15, lede.
[8]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, poudur.
[9]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, softid.
[10]17010, hast cruddid togider, V.8.15, hast cruddid me to gidre.

A
St. John's G.24

Lesson Three

Thyn handes maade me and schoop me; al in compaas and so sodeynliche thou castest me down. Haue mynde y beseche thee that as fen[1] thou hast maad me; and in to poudre thou schalt a3en lede me. Ne hast thou soofted me as melk. and croddedest me as cheese;

[1]Wh., myre.

The Lessouns of the Dirige

9. Thy hand made me man of resoun,
And shope me al in compas,
And sodeynly þou cast me doun,
ffor knew y no3t what þou was.
Of me men sample take mowen,
Be ware lest þay folwe my tras.
I hadde lordship in feld and toun,
Now on a donghille is my pas.

10. Haue mynde on me, lord, and take hede
Of fen of erthe þou dede me make.
In-to dust a3en þou shalt me lede,
My soule from þe body take.
My flesch is ful sleper atte nede,
And solpeþ my soule wiþ synnes blake.
Lord god, þy dome y drede
Whanne þou comest, y mon awake.

11. My hert shulde be stedefast,
þou hast lopred as mylk, and slep in þou3t.
Ri3t as chese þou croddest me fast.
I wyte my synnes þat y wrou3t.
Lord, alle my synnes away þou cast,
Bote wiþ my synnes cast me no3t.
þou knowest how longe my lyf shulde last;
þou sette my terme, y passe it no3t.

III (Job x, 11-12)

Hereford Translation

With fel and flesh thou hast clad me; with bones and senewis thou hast togidere ioyned me. Lif and mercy thou hast 3iue to me, and thi visiting kepte my spirit.

A
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wiþ skynne & fleish þou cloþedest me wiþ[6] bonys & synewis þou ioynedist[7] me to gidre. lijf & mercy þou 3af me & þi visitacioun haþ kept my goost.

R. Lord whanne þou comest to deme þe erþe where shal I hide me fro þe face of þi wraþþe. ffor I haue synned ri3t myche in[8] my lijf.

[6]Q.324, & wiþ. [7]27592, synwes ioynedest. [8]27592 omits "in".

Purvey Translation

Thou clothidist me with skyn and fleisch; thou hast ioyned me togidere with boonys and senewis. Thou hast 3oue lijf and mercy to me, and thi visiting hath kept my spirit.

B
Add. 17011

þou cloþedist[11] me with skyn & flesche; þou[12] hast Ioyned me to gydere wiþ boonys & senues; þou hast 3oue lyif & mercy to me; and þi vesytyng[13] hat[h] kept my spiryt.

R. Lord whan þou schalt come for to deeme[14] þe eerþe. where schal I hide me fro þe face of thy wraþþe. ffor I haue synned ry3t[15] moche in my lyue.

[11]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, hast cloþid. [12]CU., V.8.15, 36683, & þou. [13]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, visitacioun. [14]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, come to deme. [15]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, ful.

A
St. John's G.24

With skyn and fleschsches thou clothedest me; with boones and[2] synewes thou maadest[3] me to gedere. Lyf and mercy thou 3af to me;[4] and thi vysitacion hath kept my goost.

R. Lord whanne thou comest to deme the erthe. whar[5] schal y hyde me from the face of thi wrathþe. for y haue synned meche[6] in my lyf.

[2]Wh., and wiþ. [3]Wh., ioynedist. [4]Wh., 3af me. [5]Bod., wether. [6]Wh., Bod., ri3t myche.

The Lessouns of the Dirige

12. þou cloþedest me with flesch and skyn,
With bones and synewes made me to-gyder;
Lyf and mercy 3af me withyn;
As brotel vessel y stonde slyder.
þy sechyng haþ kepyd my gost with wyn.
A, lord, whenne þou comest hyder
To deme al erþe, þy domes to twyn
þou3 I wolde fle, I not no3t whyder.

13. To deme þe erthe whanne þou wendys,
Fro face of þy wraþþe whyder shal I go?
To hyde me wyþ angels aren goddis frendys?
And god me hate, þay ben my fo.
And I hyde me in helle among fendys,
In pyne þay wolen tormente me so.
I haue synned ri3t moche, my synne me schendys.
Me thynke þay waxen mo and mo.

A
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V. Mi trespassis I drede & to fore[9] þee I am ashamed whan þou comest to iugement[10] wole þou not condempne me. R. ffor y haue synned ri3t[11] myche in my lijf.

[9]Ash., afore. [10]Q.324, to þe iuggement. [11]27592, to.

B
Add. 17011

V. I drede my trespasys & me schameþ[16] to for[17] þe. wile þou not condempne me whan þou schalt come for to deeme.[18] R. ffor I haue synned ry3t[19] moche in my lyue.

[16]CU., C.699, 36683, & y am aschamed. [17]V.8.15, bifore. [18]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, whanne þou schalt come to iugement (V.8.15, C.699, 36683, þe iugement), nyle þou condempne me. [19]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, ful.

A
St. John's G.24

V. My trespaces[7] y drede. and to for[8] the y am a schamed. whanne þow comest to iugement; wille thou nou3t condempne me. R. ffor y haue synned meche[9] in my lyf.

[7]Wh., Bod., trespasse. [8]Wh., bifore. [9]Wh., ri3t myche.

The Lessouns of the Dirige

14. My trespas moche arn blamed
Bote repentaunce be mendement,
Byfore þe, y drede, y am aschamed.
Whenne þou comest to iugement,
þat weren wylde, mon be tamed,
Al wopen of wraþþe mon be brent;
In bok of lyf þo þat be named,
To ioye of heuene mon be sent.

15. Almy3ty god, lord, me 3eme,
In thy mercy þou me lede,
Whenne my soule is boden fleme,
Helpe me, lord, atte al my nede.
Whenne þou al þe world shal deme,
Dampne me no3t after my dede
Whenne þat angels blowen here beme,
þene alle folk may haue gret drede.

16. From worldis worschipe y am shoue
And bro3t abas from al astat.
My skyn is cloþed al on roue
In pouerte and peyne my wyt is mat.
Lord, chastice me wiþ 3erd of loue,
þou3 y haue seryud þe swerd of hat.
Wherto wyltou þy maystry proue,
Wiþ suchon as I to make debat?

Hereford Translation

Lesson Four (Job xiii. 23-26)

Hou fele haue I wickidnessis and synnes? Myn hidous trespasis and giltis sheu to me. Whi thi face thou hidist, and demest me thin enemy? Aȝen a lef, that is raueshid with the wind, thou shewist thi myȝt; and drie stobil thou pursuest. For-sothe thou writist aȝen me bitternessis; and waste me thou wilt with synnes of my waxende ȝouthe.

A
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As[1] grete wickidnessis[2] & synnes &[3] felonyes & tres-passis[4] as I haue[5] shew þou me. why hidist þou þi face & demest[6] me þin enemye. aȝens þe leef þat is kauȝt of þe wynd. þou shewist þi miȝt & þe dry[7] stobble þou pursuest. þou writist for-soþe[8] aȝens me bitternes[9] & þou wolt waste me wiþ synnes[10] of my ȝougþe

[1]D.275, Q.324, How grete. [2]Ash., wickidnesse. [3]Ash., D.275, Q.324, V.6.22, no "and". [4]D.246, and my synnes, felonyes & tres-passes. [5]D.275, Q.324, trespaces I have. [6]Ash., face fro me and denyest. [7]Ash., and drie. [8]Ash., for þee. [9]D.246, bitternesses. [10]D.275 wastne wiþ the synnes, Ash., D.246, Q.324, wiþ þe.

Purvey Translation

Lesson Four

Hou grete synnes and wickid-nessis haue Y? Schewe thou to me my felonyes, and tres-passis. Whi hidist thou thi face, and demest me thin enemy? Thou schewist thi myȝt aȝens a leef, which is rauyschid with the wynd; and thou pursuest drye stobil. For thou writist bitter-nessis aȝens me; and wolt waste me with the synnes of my ȝong wexynge age.

B
Add. 17011

How greete wickidnessis & synnes[1] haue I; schewe þou to me[2] my felonyes & trespasys. Whi hydest þou my [thi]* face: and demyst me þin enemy; þow schewist þi myȝt[3] aȝens a leefe whiche is rauysched wiþ þe wynde: and þou pursuest drie stobbil. ffor þou[4] writyst bytternessis aȝens me: and wolte waaste me wiþ þe synnes of my ȝonge wexynge age;[5]

[1]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, synnes & wickidnessis. [2]CU., V.8.15, shewe to me. [3]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, power. [4]36683, þou forsoþe. [5]CU., V.8.15, waxinge age.
*Supplied from 17010.

A
St. John's G.24

Lesson Four

As grete wickednesses and synnes[1] felonyes and tres-paces as[2] y haue; schew thou me. Whi hedest thou thy face and demest me thyn enemy; As[3] aȝens þe leef that is cawȝt[4] of the wynd thou schewest thi myȝt; and the drye stubbel thou pur-sewest. Thou writest for-sothe aȝens me byternesses; & thow wolt waaste me wiþ the synnes of my ȝouthe.

[1]Bod. omits "synnes". [2]Wh. omits "as". [3]Wh., Bod. omit "as". [4]Wh., taken.

The Lessouns of the Dirige

17. Als many wykkednesse and trespas
And synnes withoute noum-bre mo
Shew me, why hydest þy fas fro me, and demest me þy fo?
Lord, þenkes þe solace
This turment, and do me wo?
A drope of thy mercie of oyle of grace
Lord, graunte me er y go.

18. I am slyme of erthe, haue in mynde,
Pore of matere and dedely,
As a lef styrede with wynde.
On me þou prouest þy maystry.
þou prouest þy myȝt, and þat I fynde,
O þe stubble, þat is so drye,
þou pursuest me, and wylt me bynde,
Wiþ synnes in my ȝouþe þou wylt me stroye.

19. Lord, þou pursuest me fast, for soþe, aȝens me þou doest wryte
Bitternesse, bote swete is past.
I may noȝt blenche whenne þou wylt smyte.
I trowe þat þou wolt me wast,
With synnes in my ȝouþe do me endite.
Lord, on me þy wille þou hast
My grete synne myself y wyte.

IV (Job xiii, 27-28)

Hereford Translation

Thou hast putte in the stoc my foot, and thou hast waitid alle my pathis; and the steppis of my feet thou hast beholde. The whiche as rotenesse am to be wastid, and as clothing that is eten of a mowghe.

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þou hast sette my foot[11] in stockys.[12] & þou hast kept alle my bipaþes & þou[13] hast biholde alle þe[14] steppis of my feet & I shal be[15] wastid as rotenes. & as cloþing[16] þat is eten of[17] a moþþe. R. Woo[18] to me lord. for I haue synned to myche in my lijf. what shal I do wretche. whidir shal I flee. but to þee my god. haue mercy on[19] me whanne þou comest in þe laste day. V. Mi soule is miche troblid[20] but þou lord be helpere[21] þere to. R. whanne þou comest in þe laste dai.

[11]Ash., feet. [12]D.275, Q.324, synewe. [13]D.275, bipaþes, þou. [14]D.246, D.275, biholde þe. [15]D.275, Q.324, feet þou hast take heed; I am to be, D.246, and i am to be. [16]Ash., D.246, as a clooþ. [17]Ash., wiþ. [18]D.275, Was, D.246, Q.324, Allas. [19]D.246, V.6.22, of. [20]D.275, Q.324, is troubled myche. [21]D.246, D.275, Q.324, lorde socoure it.

Purvey Translation

Thou hast set my foot in a stok, and thou hast kept alle my pathis; and thou hast biholde the steppis of my feet. And Y schal be wastid as rot, and as a cloth, which is etun of a mougte.

B Add. 17011

þou haast sette my foot in a stok. & þou hast kept alle my paþis: and þou hast biholde þe steppys of my feet & I schal be waasted as rotte:[6] and as a cloþ whiche is eeten wyth mowþis.[7] R. Wo to me[8] lord for I haue synned to[9] moche in my lijfe what schal I wrecche do whyder schal I fle but to þee my god haue mercy on me; Whanne þou comest[10] in þe laste day. V. My soule is moche[11] troublid but þou lord be helpe þer to.[12] R. Whenne þou comest[13] in þe laste day:

[6]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, rotenesse. [7]CU., V.8.15, C.699, of a mougte, 36683, þat is eten of a mougte. [8]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, is me. [9]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, ful. [10]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, schalt come. [11]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, gretli. [12]17010, helper, CU., socoure þou it, V.8.15, C.699, 36683, socoure it. [13]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, schalt come.

A St. John's G.24

Thou settest my foot in a synewe;[5] and thou hast kept alle my bypathes; and to the steppes of my feet thou hast take hede;[6] And y schal be waasted as rotennesse; and as cloþynge that is ȝetan of a moþþe. R. Wo to me lord for y haue synned to moche in my lyf. What schal y do wrecche. wyder schal y fle bote to þe my god. haue mercy of[7] me whan þow comest in þe laste day. R. My soule is moche trowbled bote þou lord be helpere þer to. V. Whanne þou comest in þe laste day.

[5]Wh., stockis. [6]Wh., and þou hast biholde þe steppis of my feet. [7]Bod., on.

The Lessouns of the Dirige

20. In synne þou settest my fot and hede
And alle my werkes hastou soȝt,
And alle steppys y euere ȝede;
ȝe haue nombred alle my wordes and þoȝt.
And als þou hast taken hede,
Roten y schal be, wasted to noȝt;
As clothes þat moþþes on hem fede,
So shal my flesch with wormes soȝt.

21. Wo [to] me, so mon y be,
For y haue don moche synne.
I, wreche, whyder shal y fle
ffor wrechyd lyf y lyued ynne?
My lord, my god, noȝt bote to thel
God of mercie, on me mynnel
Lord, haue mercie on me,
Let noȝt thy loue fro me twynnel

Hereford Translation

Lesson Five (Joh xiv. 1-3)

A man born of a womman, short time liuende, is fulfild with many wrecchidnessis. That as a flour goth out, and is totreden; and fleth as shadewe, and neuere in the same state abit stille. And wrthi thou bringist vpon such a man to opene thin eȝen; and to bringe hym with thee in to dom?

A
Emmanuel 246

Man born[1] of a womman lyuynge a short tyme is fulfild[2] wiþ many wretchidnesses.[3] whiche goþ out as a floure & is trodun & fleeþ as þe shadewe & dwelliþ neuere[4] in þe silf state & þou letist þee worþi to open þin eiȝen vpon suche oon & lede hym wiþ þee in to iugement.[5]

[1]D.246, þat is borne. [2]Q.324, fillid. [3]Q.324, wickidnessis. [4]Q.324, euere. [5]27952, to þe jugement.

Purvey Translation

Lesson Five

A man is borun of a womman, and lyueth schort tyme, and is fillid with many wretchidnessis. Which goith out, and is defoulid as a flour; and fleeth as schadewe, and dwellith neuere perfitli in the same staat. And gessist thou it worthi to opene thin iȝen on siche a man; and to brynge hym in to doom with thee?

B
Add. 17011

A man is born of a womman and lyueþ[1] schort tyme; & is fillyd wiþ many wrecchydnessis. Whiche goþ out & is defouled as a flour; and fleeþ as schadowe[2] & dwelliþ neuere parfytly in þe same staat & gessist þou it worþi[3] to opene þin yȝen on suche a man: and to brynge him in to doom wiþ þee;

[1]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, þat is born of a womman, lyueþ. [2]CU., V.8.15, 36683, a schadewe. [3]36683, þou worþi.

A
St. John's G.24

Lesson Five

Man that is boren of a womman lyfynge a schort tyme; is fulfulled with many wrechednesses.[1] Whiche gooþ out as flour and is defouled[2] and fleeþ as þe schadwe; and dwelleþ neuere in þe selue staat. And thou holdest[3] worthi to opene þyn eyen upon sucheon; and lede hym wiþ þe in to iugement;[4]

[1]Wh., al wickidnesse. [2]Wh., troden. [3]Wh., leetist þe. [4]Wh., þe iuggement.

The Lessouns of the Dirige

22. Man, that is of woman born,
Lyuynge short tyme he is.
Er his nauel be knytte and shorn,
ffulfilde with many wrechidnes.
Er he fro his moder be forborn,
In peryl of deth, bothe partie es.
ȝif flesch be lord, the soul is lorn;
Bote soule be lord, he leseth his blys.

23. Man geth out as don floures,
Corage and strengthe, and fayre of hewe;
Makeþ moche of hymself, saype al is oures,
And repeth þat he neuere ne sewe.
He is defouled be dayes and houres,
And fleeþ as shadow, þat neuere grewe;
Dwelleþ neuere in þe self stat of ouris,
Encresceþ mo vyces þan vertew.

24. And þou holdest worthy to open thyn ey,
And come to me, and clayme for rent,
To loke on such a wrecche as y,
And lede hym with the to iugement,
þer al mankynde in company,
Atte thy general parlement;
Vertues to heuen ther schul ȝe try,
The vyces in helle fyre be brent.

V (Jot xiv, 4-6)

Hereford Translation

Who mai make clene the conceyued of vnclene sed? Whether not thou, that art alone? Shorte ben the dayis of man, the noumbre of his monethis is anent thee; thou hast ordeyned his termes, that shul not moun be passid ouer. Go awei thanne a litil fro hym, that he reste; to the time that the desirid dai come, and as of an hirid man the dai of hym.

A

Emmanuel 246

who may make clene him þat is conceyued of vnclene seed wheþer þou þat art alone. Short beþ a mannes daies & þe noumbre of his monþis is at þee. þou hast sette his termes þat mowe not passe. go þerfore a wey[6] a litil fro him þat he reste[7] til þe dai desirid come. & as marchaunt[8] þe daies of him.

[6]Ash., D.246, D.275, Q.324, 27592, V.6.22, go awei þerfor. [7]D.275, Q.324, mow rest. [8]D.246, 27592, V.6.22, come (27592, V.6.22, come and as) as of a marchaunt, D.275, as of an hiridman.

Purvey Translation

Who may make a man clene conseyued of vnclene seed? Whether not thou, which art aloone? The daies of man ben schorte, the noumbre of his monethis is at thee; thou hast set, ethir ordeyned, hise termes, whiche moun not be passid. Therfor go thou awey fro hym a litil, that is, bi withdrawyng of bodili lijf, that he haue reste; til the meede coueitid come, and his dai is as the dai of an hirid man.

B

Add. 17011

Who may make clene: a man[4] conseyued of vnclene seed; wher not þou: whiche[5] art aloone; þe daies of man[6] been schorte: þe nowmbre of his monþes is at þee þou hast sette[7] his teerymys; Whiche[8] mown not be passid; þer fore go þou awei fro him a lytel þat he haue reste; til þe mede[9] come & his dayes: as[10] of an hyred man.

[4]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, make him clene þat is. [5]CU., þou þat aloon, V.8.15, C.699, 36683, þat. [6]CU., V.15.8, C.699, 36683, a man. [7]17010, sett or ordeyned. [8]CU., þe whiche. [9]CU., V.8.15, mede desirid, C.699, 36683, desired mede. [10]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, his dai is as þe dai.

A

St. John's G.24

Ho may make clene hym[5] þat is conceyued o unclene seed; Wheþer thou that art a lone; Schorte beeth a mannes dayes; and þe nowmbre of his monethes is at þe. Thou hast sett his teermes that mowe nouȝt passe Go[6] a wey therfore a litel from hym; þat he mowe reste.[7] and[8] til the day desyred as of an hyred man come.[9]

[5]Wh., him clene, Bod., clene he. [6]Bod., ne go. [7]Wh., he reste. [8]Wh. omits "and". [9]Wh., þe day desirid come, and as of a marchaunt þe dayes of hym.

The Lessouns of the Dirige

25. What man may make hym clene
þat is conceyued in vnclene sed?
Ywhether þou art alone, withoute mene?
To felowschipe þou hast non nede.
Short ar mannys dayes sene,
And the nombre of hys monthes in thy dede.
þou hast sette his terme of fat and lene,
He passeþ it noȝt for no mede.

26. A, go away a lytel hym fro,
In mendement that he mow rest
Tyl the day he ȝerned so,
A, of harde* man, come þat is best.
Lord, haue no mynde to do me wo,
fforþer my synnes wolde make me lest.
Lord, whenne þou comest to deme so
Al þe world be fyre, boþe est and west,
God, in þy syȝt þy way y go
Ryȝt ham; in þy fayþ me fest!

*hired?

Hereford Translation

A
Emmanuel 246

R. haue no mynde of[9] my[10] synnes lord whanne þou comest to deme þe world bi fier. V. Lord my god dresse my weie[11] in þi syȝt. R. whanne þou comest to deme þe world bi fier.

[9]D.246, D.275, Q.324, Recorde not. [10]V.6.22, oure. [11]Ash., weies.

Lesson Six (Job xiv, 13)

Who ȝeue to me that, that in helle thou defende me, and hide me, to the time thi wodnesse ouerpasse;

Who ȝyueþ to me þat þou defende me in helle & þat[1] þou hide me til[2] þi wrabbe be passid[3]

[1]Ash., in helle þat. [2]Q.324, til þat. [3]D.246, passe.

Purvey Translation

B
Add. 17011

R. Haue not mynd of my synnes lord.[11] Whenne þou schalt come to deeme þe world be fyer. V. Lord my god[12] dresse my weie in þi syȝt. R. Whan þou schalt come to deeme þe world be fyer.

[11]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, Lord, reherce þou not my synnes. [12]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, Mi lord god, dresse þou.

Lesson Six

Who ȝiueth this to me, that thou defende me in helle, and that thou hide me, til thi greet veniaunce passe;

Who ȝyueþ þis to me:[1] þat þou defende me in helle; And þat þou hyde[2] me tyl þi greete vengaunce passe:

[1]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, who mai graunte to me þis. [2]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, & hide.

A
St. John's G.24

R. Haue no mynde of my synnes lord. whanne thou comest to deme þe world be fyer. V. Lord my god dresse my weye in þy siȝt. R. Whanne thou comest to deeme þe world be fyer.

Lesson Six

Ho ȝeueth to me þat thou defende me in helle; and[1] hyde me til thy wrathbe be passed.[2]

[1]Wh., Bod., þat þou. [2]Bod., passe.

The Lessouns of the Dirige

27. Lord, whenne þou demest alle þyng in riȝt,
Wher mercie shal noȝt knawen be;
Ryȝt leseþ noȝt his myȝt,
þouȝ mercie be in companye.
Mercy is euere in þy syȝt,
For mercie euere þyn eyȝen se.
Wher-euere þy dome is dyȝt,
Riȝt claymeþ mercie for his fee.

28. Who ȝeueþ to me, þat y me hyde
Tylle þy wrabbe in helle be past?
Withouten pyne, þy dome to byde,
Tyl body and soule aȝen be fast?
With arguments noȝt me chyde!
þou knowest how longe my lyf shal last.
Lord, lat mercie be my gyde,
And neuere fro þy face me cast!

VII (Job xiv. 13-16)

Hereford Translation

and sette to me a time, in whiche thou recorde of me? Whether weenest thou not a dead man eft liue? Alle the dazis, in whiche now I fizte, I abide, to the time myn inward chaunging come. Thou shalt clepe me, and I shal answere to thee; to the werc of thin hondis thou shalt putte forth the rizt hond. Thou forsothe hast noumbrid my goingis; but spare to my synnes.

A

Emmanuel 246

& þat þou[4] sette to me a time in which þou shalt bere recorde of me. trowist þou auzt[5] þat a deed man shal lyue azen. alle þe daies which[6] y now fizte I abide til þe tyme þat my goostli lickenes come. þou shalt clepe me & I shal answere to þee. to[7] þe werke of þin hondis þou shalt putte out þi rizthalf. þou perfore[8] hast noumbrid my goyngis. but spare my synnes.[9]

[4]Ash., and þou. [5]Ash., not. [6]Ash., D.275, daies in which. [7]Ash., þe werk. [8]Ash., forsoþe þou, D.246, D.275, Q.324, þou forsoþe. [9]V.6.22, synne.

Purvey Translation

and thou sette to me a tyme, in which thou haue mynde on me? Gessist thou, whethir a deed man schal lyue azen? In alle the daies, in whiche Y holde knyzthod, now Y abide, til my chaunqyng come. Thou schalt clepe me, and Y schal answere thee; thou schalt dresse the rizt half, that is, blis, to the werk of thin hondis. Sotheli thou hast noumbrid my steppis; but spare thou my synnes.

B

Add. 17011

and þou sette to me[3] a tyme in whiche þou haue mynde on[4] me; Gessyst þou wher[5] a deed man schal[6] lyue azen; In alle daies in whiche I holde knythode now[7] I abyde: tyl my chaunqynge come; þou schalt clepe me: and I schal answere þee.[8] þou schalt dresse þe ryzt half[9] to þe werke of þin hondys. Soþly[10] þou hast noumbred[11] myn steppis; but[12] spare þou my synnes.

[3]CU., 36683, & þat þou ordeyne me, V.8.15, ordeyne me tyme, C.699, & þou ordeyne me. [4]CU., V.8.15, of. [5]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, þou not þat. [6]V.8.15 omits "schal". [7]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, alle þe daies in whiche y travele now. [8]V.8.15, to þee. [9]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, strecche þi rizt hond. [10]CU., C.699, 36683, sikirli, V.8.15, þou sikirly. [11]V.8.15, foundid. [12]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, but, lord.

A

St. John's G.24

and thou[3] sette to me a tyme in whiche[4] thou schalt haue mynde[5] of me. Trowest þou auzt that[6] a deed man schal lyue azen. Alle þe dayes whiche[7] y now fyzte y abyde til my folwynge come.[8] Thou schalt clepe[9] me; and y schal answere to thee. To the[10] werk of thyn handes; thou schal putte thy rizt-hand.[11] ffor thou[12] hast nowmbred my goynges;[13] bote spare thou to my synnes.[14]

[3]Wh., and þat þou. [4]Bod., in the whiche. [5]Wh., bere recorde. [6]Wh., Bod., þou þat. [7]Wh., þe whiche. Bod., that. [8]Wh., til þe tyme þat my goostly liknesse come. [9]Wh., calle. [10]Bod., thi. [11]Wh., rizt half. [12]Wh., þou forsoþe. [13]Bod., goingis for sothe. [14]Wh., but spare my synnes.

The Lessouns of the Dirige

29. þou set me a tyme; couenant is tan.
Haue mynde on me, what dome is dizt.
Trowest þou ouzt þat y, dede man,
Shal haue azeyn man of myzt,
And zelde rekenyng sen y bygan
With alle dayes þat y now fyzt?
Now I abyde þat I fro ran,
Tyl my folwyng come to myn insizt.

30. Lord, þou shalt clepe me,
And I shal answere to þe, werk of þyn hande.
Werk of þy rizt hand, take to þe;
þou shalt not bynde it in helle bande.
þou hast noumbred my steppes, how mony þay be,
How monye y ran, how monye I stande.
Bot spare þou, lord, to þe synne of me,
Ne wilne nozt deme my werkes ze fande.

A

Emmanuel 246

R. Lord after my dede wole þou not deme me. no þing[10] worþi[11] haue I do in þi si3t.[12] þerfore I preie þi maieste þat þou[13] do aweye my wickidnes. V. More ouere waisch me[14] god of[15] myn vnri3twisnes[16] & of my trespases[17] clense me[18] for to þee alone I haue synned. R. þerfore I preie þi maieste þat þou god do a wei my wickidnesse.

[10]Ash., for noþing. [11]V.6.22 omits "worþi". [12]Q.324, my si3t. [13]Ash., D.246, D.275, Q.324, 27592, V.6.22, þou god. [14]Ash., waische þou me. [15]Ash., fro. [16]D.275, vnri3tfulnesse. [17]D.246, D.275, Q.324, 27592, trespasse. [18]D.275, Q.324, clense me lord.

B

Add. 17011

R. Lord nyle þou deeme me affter my deede. for[13] I haue doon no þing worþi in þi sy3t. þerfor I preie[14] þi mageste þat þou god do awei my wickidnes. V. More ouer god wassche þou me fro myn vnry3twysnes & of my trespas clense þou me. for to þe aloone I haue synned.[15] R. þerfore I preie[16] þi mageste þat þou god do awei my wickidnes.

[13]CU., C.699, 36683, omit "for". [14]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, biseche. [15]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, vnri3tfulnesse, & clense þou me of my trespas. for y have synned to þee aloon. [16]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, biseche.

A

St. John's G.24

R. Lord after my dede wille thou nou3t dedeme[15] me. nothyng woorthi haue y do in thy sy3t. ther fore y preye thy majeste þat þou god do a wey my wickednesse. V. Wasch me more lord[16] of myn vnri3twesnesse and of my trespas clense me.[17] for to the alone; y haue synned. R. Therfore y preye thi mageste that thou god do a wey my wickednesse.

[15]Wh., Bod., deeme. [16]Wh., Moore-ouere waysche me, God. [17]Wh., þou me.

The Lessouns of the Dirige

31. Deme me no3t after my dede,
Lord, I byseche þe!
I haue don in þy si3t, and tok non hede;
þerfore I praye þy mageste.
God, my wikkednesse away þou lede,
Myn vnry3t away wasche 3e!
Non more; lord, at my nede,
Of alle my synnes clense 3e me!

Hereford Translation

Lesson Seven (Joh xvii. 1-3, 11-13)

My spirit shal be maad thynne; my dayis shul be shortid, and onli to me leueth ouer a sepulcre. I synnede not, and in bittirnessis abideth myn eye. Lord, deliuere me, and put me beside thee; and whos euere hond thou wilt, fi3te a3en me. . . . My da3is passeden; my tho3tis ben scatered, tormentende myn herte. Ny3t thei turneden in to dai; and eft aftir dercnessis I hope li3t. If I shul sustene, helle is myn hous; and in dercnessis I beddede my bed.

A
Emmanuel 246

Mi goost shal be maad þinne my daies[1] shulen be shortid & oneliche a biriel ouere bileueþ[2] to me. I haue not synned & myn ei3e dwelliþ in bitternes.[3] delyuere me lord & sette me biside[4] þee & whos hoond þat þou wolt fi3te a3ens me. my daies ben passid my þou3tis ben wastid turmentynge myn herte. þei turneden ni3t in to dai & þan after derknesse I hope[5] li3te. If I susteyne. helle is myn hous. In[6] derknesse I hau beddid my bed

[1]D.275, Q.324, and my daies. [2]Ash., biriel, leueþ, D.275, Q.324, byriel ouere leueþ. [3]27592, V.6.22, bri3tnesse. [4]27592, bifore. [5]Ash., hopide. [6]V.6.22, and in.

Purvey Translation

Lesson Seven

Mi spirit schal be maad feble; my daies schulen be maad schort, and oneli the sepulcre is left to me. Y have not synned, and myn i3e dwellith in bittirnessis. Lord, delyuere thou me, and sette thou me bisidis thee; and the hond of ech fi3te a3ens me. . . . My daies ben passid; my thou3tis ben scaterid, turmentynge myn herte. Tho han turned the ny3t in to day; and eft aftir derknessis hope li3t. If Y susteyne, ether suffre pacientli, helle is myn hous; and Y haue arayede my bed in derknessis.

B
Add. 17011

Mi spirit schal be maad feble my dayes schulen be maad schort and oonly þe sepulcre is leefte to me; I haue not synned: and[1] myn y3e duelleþ in bittyrnes:[2] Lord delyuere þou me:[3] and sette þou me besyde þe & whos hond þat[4] þou wolt fi3te a3ens me. My dayes ben passed my þo3tys ben wasted[5] tourmentynge myn heerte: þo han turned þe ny3t in to þe day:[6] and efte after derkenesses I hope ly3te. If I susteyne. helle is myn hous: and I haue arayed my beed in derknessis.

[1]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, and 3it. [2]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, bitternessis. [3]36683, delyuere me. [4]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, and þe hond of whom euere. [5]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, scaterid. [6]17010, CU., V.8.15, into day.

A
St. John's G.24

Lesson Seven

My goost schal be maad thynne my dayes schulle be schorted; and onlyche a byriel byleueþ[1] to me. I have nou3t synned; and myn eye dwellith in bitternesses.[2] Delyuere me lord and sette me bisyde the; and whas hond þat thou wolt fy3te a3ens me. Myne dayes been passed.[3] myne thou3tes been wasted; turmentynge myn herte. They tornede ny3t in to day; and thanne after derknesses[4] y hope ly3t. 3if y susteyne. helle is myn[5] hous; in derknesses[6] y haue bedded my bed.

[1]Wh., Bod., ouer-bileueþ. [2]Wh., Bod., bittirnesse. [3]Bod. omits "been passed". [4]Wh., Bod., derknesse. [5]Bod., his. [6]Wh., Bod., derknes.

The Lessouns of the Dirige

32. My goost, shalt þou be made newe,
My dayes shulle yshorted be;
My soule fro þe body mon remewe,
Alone a graue byleueth to me.
I haue non synne, no vices me sewe,
Myn eyen in bitternesse dwelle y se.
Deliuere me, lord, and on me rewe,
And sette me bysydes the!

33. Whos hande þou wolt a3eyn me fy3t,
And þou proue þy stronge hande?
My dayes ben passed to withstonde þy my3t,
I may no3t bere þy litel wande.
My thou3tes ben wasted, turned in ry3t,
Turmentynge my herte in-with and ande;
And turnyd day to þe ny3t.
After derkenesse I haue bedded my bed, I fande.

VII (Job. xvii. 14-15)

Hereford Translation

To stinc I seide, Thou art my fader; My moder and my sister, to wermes. Wher is thanne now myn abiding? and my pacience who beholdeth?

A
Emmanuel 246

I seide to rotenes. þou art my fadir & my modir & to wormes I seide þou art my sistir. where is þanne[7] myn abidynd & my paciens þou art lord my god.

R. þe drede of deeþ troubleþ me synnynge eche[8] dai & not repentynge ffor in helle is no redempcioun. Haue merci on[9] me god & saue me.

V. God in þi name make me saaf.[10] and in þi vertu delyuere[11] me. R. ffor in helle is no redempcioun.

[7]D.246, D.275, Q.324, Where is þan now, Ash., þan now. [8]Ash., every. [9]D.246, D.275, Q.324, V.6.22, of. [10]D.246, saufe lord. [11]Ash., delyuere þou.

Purvey Translation

Y seide to rot, Thou art my fadur; and to wormes, ȝe ben my modir and my sister. Therfor where is now myn abidyng? and who biholdith my pacience?

B
Add. 17011

I seide to rooten:[7] þou art my fader. And to wormys: ȝe be my moder & my suster. þer fore wher is now myn abydynge & my pacyence: þou art lord my god.[8]

R. þe drede of deeþ troubleþ me synnynge euery day & not repentynge.[9] ffor in helle is no redempcioun haue mercy on[10] me god & saue me.[11] V. God in þi name maake me[12] saaf & in þi vertu delyuere me.[13] R. ffor in helle is no redempcioun haue mercy on[14] me god & saue me.[15]

[7]17010, rott, CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, rotenesse. [8]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, My lord god, þou it ert. [9]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, euery dai, þe while (V.8.15, C.699, 36683, while) y synne & repente me not. [10]CU., V.8.15, of. [11]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, þou me. 17010 omits "god". [12]V.8.15, þou me. [13]36683, deme þou me, CU., V.8.15, delyuere þou. [14]CU., V.8.15, of. [15]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, þou me.

A
St. John's G.24

I seyde to rotennesse. Thou art my fader and my moder. and to wormes y seyde; thou art my suster. Whare is þanne now myn abydynge and my pacience; thou art lord my god.

R. Drede[7] of deeþ trowbleth[8] me synnynge eche day[9] and nouȝt repentynge. for in helle is no redempcion. haue mercy of me god.[10]

V. God in thi name make me sauf; and in thy vertewe delyuere me. R. ffor in helle is no redemption; haue mercy of me god and saue me.

[7]Wh., The drede. [8]Wh., troublide. [9]Bod., eche day synnynge. [10]Wh., Bod., and saue me.

The Lessouns of the Dirige

34. I sayde to stynke and rotenesse,
'My fader and moder arn ȝe;'
And to wormes y sayde þysse:
'My systren and my brethern both be ȝe.'
And erthe claymeþ me for hysse,
Where þen now my bydynge to me.
My felynge þou art, and my god of blisse.
Drede of deth droueth me.

35. Eche a day synnyng,
And euere newe encres;
Neuere a day blynnyng,
Bote euere vertue wane les.
To repente no bygynnyng,
Noȝt bote gadre synne ay in pres.
In helle is no wynnyng,
Ne non aȝeynbyynge to pes.

Hereford Translation

Lesson Eight (Job xix, 20-24)

My bon cleuede to my skin, the flesh wastid; and onli the lippis ben lafte aboute my teth. Haueth reuthe of me, haueth reuthe of me, nameli, 3ee my frendis; for the hond of the Lord hath touchid me. Whi pursue 3ee me, as God; and with my flesh 3ee be fulfild? Who 3iueth to me, that my woordis be writen? Who 3iueth to me that thei be grauen in a boc with an iren pointel, or with a pece of led; or with a chisell thei be grauen in flint?

A
Emmanuel 246

MI mouþ cleuede to my skynne þe fleishe wastid &[1] al oneli þe lippis ben lefte about my teeþ. Haue rewþe on[2] me haue rewþe on[2] me nameliche[3] 3e my frendis. for þe hoond of oure[4] lord haþ touchid me. Whi pursue 3e me as god & 3e ben fulfild with my fleishes. who shal 3yue[5] to me þat my wordis ben writun. who shal 3yue to me þat þei be graue in a book wiþ a poyntel of iren. and in a plate of leed. oþere þat þei be graue in a flynt[6] wiþ a chisel.

[1]V.6.22 omits "&". [2]D.246, D.275, Q.324, of . . . of, 27592, on . . . of. [3]Ash., oonly. [4]D.246, D.275, Q.324, the. [5]D.246, take. [6]V.6.22 omits "in a flynt".

Purvey Translation

Lesson Eight

Whanne fleischis weren wastid, my boon cleuyde to my skyn; and oneli lippis ben left aboute my teeth. Haue 3e merci on me, haue 3e merci on me, nameli, 3e my frendis; for the hond of the Lord hath touchid me. Whi pursuen 3e me, as God pursueth; and ben fillid with my fleischis? Who 3yueth to me, that my wordis be writun? Who 3yueth to me, that tho be writun in a book with an yrun poyntil, ethir with a plate of leed; ethir with a chisel be grauun in a flynt?

B
Add. 17011

Whanne flesches weren waasted[1] my boon cleuede to my skyn: and oonly lippes[2] ben leeft abowte my teeþ. Haue 3ee mercy on me haue 3e mercy on me namely 3e my freendis: for þe hond of þe lord haþ[3] towched me. Whi pursuen 3e me as god pursueþ:[4] & been fylled wiþ my flesschis.[5] Who 3yueþ to me[6] þat my wordes ben wretyn: who 3eueþ to me[6] þat þei be grauyn[7] in a book wiþ an Iryn poyntel eþer wiþ a plate of leed. eþer wiþ a chesel be grauun in a flynt;

[1]CU., V.8.15, 36683, Whanne my fleisch was wastid, C.699, whanne my fleische waastid. [2]C.699, boonys. [3]36683 omits "haþ". [4]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, doiþ. [5]V.8.15, fleish. [6]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, mai graunte me. [7]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, writun.

A
St. John's G.24

Lesson Eight

Mi fleschsches been wasted. the boon cleuith to þe skyn;[1] and al only the lyppes been left a boute[2] my teeth. Haue mercy of[3] me haue mercy of[3] me; namelyche 3e my frendes. for the [hond] of oure lord hath touched me. why pursewe 3e me as god. and 3e been fulfyld of my fleschsches; Ho schal 3eue to me that my wordes be wryten; Ho schal 3eue to me that they be eered[4] in a book wiþ a poyntel of yren. and in a plate of leed; oþer that they by graue in a flynt of[5] a chesel;[6]

[1]Wh., My mouth cleuede to my skyn, þe fleisch wastid. [2]Bod., abouen. [3]Wh., rube on, Bod., routhe of. [4]Wh., grauen, Bod., writen. [5]Wh., wiþ. [6]Bod., Whyt a chisel in a flynt.

The Lessouns of the Dirige

36. My flesches ben wasted, don me refuse,
My bones cleuyn vnto þe skyn;
My lippes arn shronken out of syse,
Aboute my teth arn left atwyn.
Haue mercye on myn werk vnwyse,
Haue mercie on me, let mercie wyn!
Namly my frendes, me noȝt despyse;
Lordis hande hath towched me more and myn.

37. Why pursue ȝe me, and on me syte,
And arn filled of my flesch and fel?
Who ȝeueþ to me, þat wolde y wyte,
Wordes in boke be ered wel,
Or in a plate of led wryten
With an yren poyntel,
Or in a flynt grauen and spyten
By craft of werk withoute chysel?

VIII (Job xix, 25-26)

Hereford Translation

Forsothe I wot, that myn a3eenbiere liueth, and in the laste dai I am to rise fro the erthe; and eft shal be enuyround with my skin, and in my flesh I shal se God, my sauere. Whom I myself am to seen, and myn e3en ben to beholden, and noon other. This myn hope is led vp in my bosum.

A

Emmanuel 246

I wote forsoþe þat myn a3enbier[7] lyueþ & in þe laste dai I am arisynge[8] fro þe erþe & efte I shal be lappid in my skynne & in my fleishe I shal see god my saueour. whom I my silf shal[9] se and my ei3en. ben to behold on him and noon oþere.[10] þis is myn hope putte[11] in my bosome.

R. Lord 3if hem reste wiþ outen ende. & þe li3te þat euere lastiþ[12] li3ten to hem.

V. þou þat reredist lazar of þe monument stynkynge 3if to[13] hem lord reste.[14]

R. And þe li3t þat euere lastiþ[15] li3ten to hem.

[7]D.246, forbyer. [8]Ash., to risyng a3en, D.246, D.275, to risyng, Q.324, to risinge for. [9]D.246, am to. [10]Q.324, to biholden & noon oþir. [11]D.246, is putte vp. D.275, putte vp. [12]Ash., euere schal laste. D.275, Q.324, lasteþ euere. [13]D.275, 3eue hem. [14]D.275, reste & li3t, 27592, V.6.22, hem rest. [15]Ash., schal laste.

Purvey Translation

For Y woot, that myn a3enbiere lyueth, and in the laste dai Y schal rise fro the erthe; and eft Y schal be cumpassid with my skyn, and in my fleisch Y schal se God, my sauyour. Whom Y my silf schal se, and myn i3en schulen biholde, and not an other man. This myn hope is kept in my bosum.

B

Add. 17011

ffor I wotte þat myn a3enbyer lyueþ: and in þe laste dai I schal ryse fro þe eerþe. And efte I schal be cumpased wiþ my skyn and in my flessche I schal se god my sauyour. Whom I my sylf schal see: and myn y3en schulen beholde. & not anoþer man.[8] þis myn hope: is kept[9] in my bosum.

R. Lord 3yue hem reste wiþ outen eende.[10] And þerþetuel ly3te schyne[11] to hem.

V. þou þat reysedest la3ar stynkynge of þe monument lord 3yue to hem reste.[12] R. And þerþetuel ly3t schyne[13] to hem.

[8]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, beynge not anoþir. [9]CU., V.8.15, þis is myn hope, & kept. C.699, 36683, þis is myn hope kept. [10]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, graunte þou (C.699, 36683, omit "þou") hem endeles reste. [11]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, & everlasting (C.699, 36683, endles) li3t li3tne. [12]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, Lord, þat reisidist stynkynge la3ar fro his grave, graunte hem rest. [13]CU., V.8.15, 36683, everlastynge li3t, li3tne.

St. John's G.24

I wot forsoþe þat myn a3enbeyere lyueth; and in the laste day y schal ryse of[7] þe erþe. and eft y schal be lapped in my skyn; and in my flesch y schal se god[8] my saueour. Whyche[9] y my self schal se and myn eyen schulle byholden[10] on hym[11] and noon other. This ys myn hope put up in my bosom.

R. Lord 3if hem reste with outen end. And the li3t that euere lastith; li3tne to hem. V. Thou that reredest la3ar of the monument stynkynge; 3if to hem reste.[12] R. And the ly3t that euere lastiþ; li3tne to hem.

[7]Wh., am for to ryse fro. [8]Bod., my god. [9]Wh., whom. [10]Wh., are to byholde. [11]Bod. omits "and myn . . . on hym. [12]Wh., Lord, reste.

The Lessouns of the Dirige

38. I byleue þat soth y say,
Myn a3eynbyere lyuynge isse.
I shal rysen of þe erthe my laste day,
Bylapped in my flesch and skyn ywisse;
Byholde with myn ey3en twey,
Se god, my sauyour, in blisse;
Nou other ey3en bote þes, withouten nay;
þe hope in my bosom yput vp isse.

39. The soule is in derkenesse from gostly sy3t.
Lord, 3yue here rest and pees!
Withouten ende, 3yue here ly3t,
Euerlastynge ly3t, þat neuere shal sees!
þou þat rered Lazar on hy3t
Out of þe graue, stynkynge fro wormes pres,
þy pauylon of mercy be on hem py3t,
To reste fro pyne, make hem reles.

A

Hereford Translation

Lesson Nine (Job x, 18-21a)

Whi of the wombe thou brogtist me out? That wolde God I hadde be wastid, that eȝe shulde not seen me. I hadde ben as I were not, fro the wombe translatid to the toumbe. Whether not the fewenesse of my daȝis shal be endid in short? Let me thanne, that I weile a litil while my sorewe, er I go, and turne not aȝeen, to the derke erthe.

A

Emmanuel 246*

Whi brouȝtist[1] þou me out of[a] þe wombe wold god þat I hadde be fordon[b] þat noon iȝe hadde seie me. þan hadde I be as þouȝ I hadde not be. fro þe wombe bore to þe biriel[c] wheþer þe shortnesse[2d] of my daies shal not be endid in short.[3e] lat[4] me lord[f] þat I weile[5] a litil while[6] my sorewe. er þat I go & turne[g] not aȝen to þe derke erbe.[h]

*In the ninth lesson only CU., C.699, 36683 and V.8.15 bear a closer resemblance to Emm. than to Add. 17011. They are therefore collated with Emm., notes referring to them are indicated by letter. The text of the antiphon reverts to the Add. type.

[1]Ash., D.246, D.275, Q.324, laddist. [2]D.246, D.275, Q.324, fewenes. [3]Ash., schort tyme, D.275, Q.324, soone be endid in schort tyme. [4]D.275, Q.324, suffre. [5]Ash., weymente. [6]D.275, Q.324, a litel. [a]CU., V.8.15, D.699, 36683, forth fro. [b]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, wastid. [c]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, grave. [d]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, fewenesse. [e]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, schort tyme. [f]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, lord suffre þou me. [g]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, or y wende hennes þat y turne. [h]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, lond.

B

Purvey Translation

Lesson Nine

Whi hast thou led me out of the wombe? And Y wolde, that Y were wastid, lest an iȝe schulde se me. That Y hadde be, as if Y were not, and were translatid, ethir borun ouer, fro the wombe to the sepulcre. Whether the fewnesse of my daies schal not be endid in schort? Therfor suffre thou me, that Y biweile a litil my sorewe, bifor that Y go, and turne not aȝen, to the derk lond,

B

Add. 17011

(Collated with 17010 only)

Whi haast þou leed me out of þe wombe; And I wolde þat I were waastid: lest an yȝe schulde se me. þat I hadde be as if I were not: and were born ouer fro þe wombe to þe sepulcre. Where þe fewenesse of my daies: schal ben ended in schort; þerfor suffre þou me þat I beweyle alytyl my sorwe: bifore þat I goo & turne not aȝen to þe derke lond

A

St. John's G.24

Lesson Nine

Why browȝtest[1] thow me out of the wombe; that y wolde[2] y hadde be fordoon that noon eye hadde seye me. Thanne hadde y be as thouȝ y hadde nouȝt be; fro þe wombe bore to the byriel. Whether the schortnesse[3] of my dayes schal nouȝt soone be ended;[4] Therfore suffre me þat y wepe a whyle for my sorwe[5] er that y go; and þat y torne[6] nouȝt a ȝen to the erthe of derknessees

[1]Wh., Bod., leddist. [2]Wh., Wolde God þat. Bod., wolde god y. [3]Bod., fewnes. [4]Wh., Bod., ben eendid in schort. [5]Wh., Bod., Late me, Lord, þat I weyle a litil while (Bod. omits "while") my sorowe. [6]Wh., and turn, Bod., and let me terne.

The Lessouns of the Dirige

40. Out of þe wombe, why hastou me brogt,
þat wolde y hadde be fordon?
þanne hadde I be as nogt,
Noon eyȝe hadde sene me after son;
þan hadde I be as vnwrogt,
Nogt born from wombe to berelis doun,
Where my short dayes arn in my þogt,
Where þay shal nogt be ended moun.

41. A, þerfore, lord, graunte me þes
To wepe and wayle, repente my synne,
þat y torne nogt aȝeyn to erthe of derkenes.

IX (Job x, 21b-22)

Hereford Translation

and couered with the dercnesse of deth the erthe of wrecchidnesse and of dercnessis; wher shadewe of deth, and noon order, but fulli indwellith euere durende orrour.

A Emmanuel 246

keuered[71] wiþ þe derke cloude[j] of deeþ[8] þe lond[9] of wretchidnes & of derknes.[10k] where is[1] shadewe of deeþ & noon ordre[11] but euere lastinge orrour[12] wiþ ynne dwellynge.[m]

R. Deliuere me lord of endeles deeþ in þat dredful[13] dai [whan þat the heuenes[14] schullen be styred[15] & þe erþe][16] whanne[17] þou shalt come to iuge þe world bi fier.

[71]D.246, & kouerid, D.275, þe erthe of derknesse and keuered. [8]D.275, þesternesse clowde of deeþ. Q.324, in to þe derknes & keuered wiþ þesternes þe cloude of deeþ. [9]Ash., in þe lond. [10]Ash. omits "& of derknes". [11]27952, oþir. [12]27952, V.6.22, error. [13]MS., dreful. [14]Ash., þat heuenes. [15]Q.324, moued. [16]This whole clause is lacking in Emm. 246, Add. 27592 and V.6.22. It is supplied here from D.275 and occurs in all the other MSS. [17]D.246, while. [i]CU., V.8.15, & keuerid, C.699, 36683, & be keuerid. [j]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, þe derknesse of deeþ (V.8.15 omits "þe"). [k]C.699, 36683, derknessis. [l]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, þe. [m]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, grisnesse dwelliþ inne.

Purvey Translation

and hilid with the derknesse of deth, to the lond of wrecchidnesse and of derknessis; where is schadewe of deeth, and noon order, but euerlastynge hidousnesse dwellith.

B Add. 17011

& helyd with þe derknes of deeþ. To þe lond[1] of wrecchidnes & of derknessis: where is schadowe of deeþ and noon ordre. but euerelastynge hydowsnesse dwelliþ.

(Collated with 17010, CU., C.699, 36683)

R. Delyuere me lord[2] of endeles deeþ in þat dreedeful day. Whanne þat heuenes schulen be steryd from þe eerþe.[3] Whan þou schalt come & Iuge[4] þe world be fyer.

[1]17010, to lond. [2]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, Lord, delyuere þou me fro (C.699, 36683 omit "þou"). [3]CU., C.699, 36683, Whanne heuenes (V.8.15, heuene) & erþe schulen be moued. [4]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, to deme.

A St. John's G.24

and keuered[7] with thesternesse[8] of deeþ.[9] Loond[10] of wrechchednesse and[11] derknesses;[12] theer is schadwe of deeþ and noon ordre; bote ther woneth euerelastynge gryselychhede.[13]

R. Delyuere me lord of endeles deeþ in þat dredful day. Whanne that[14] þe heuenes schulle be stired fro[15] the erth. Whanne[16] thou schalt come to iuge the world be fyer.

[7]Wh., Bod., derk erþe (Bod., and) keuerid. [8]Wh., Bod., þe derk cloude. [9]Wh., þe deeþ. [10]Wh., Bod., þe lond. [11]Wh., and of. [12]Wh., Bod., derkenesse. [13]Wh., but euerlastynge errour with-in dwellynge. Bod., but dwellynge euer lastinge errour with inne. [14]Bod. omits "that". [15]Bod., and. [16]Bod., While.

The Lessouns of the Dirige

To stryues of deþ, be curyd* þerynne,
Lond of wrethes and þesternesse
þer is shadew of deþ; noon oþer wynne;
þer woneþ euerlastynge for hem lyued mysse,
Euere gryslyhede, þat neuere schal blynne.

42. Delyuere me, lord, from endeles deþe
In þat grete dredful day,
Where heuenys schullen be styred from erþe breþe,
Whenne þou shalt come to deme for ay,
To heuen, or helle, þat on he geþ;
þe wor[l]d be fyre, and grete afray.
þanne, woo to the synful, his soule sleþ,
And fendys claymen hym for here pray.

*cuvryd?

Emmanuel 246

V. That dai shal be a[18] dai of wraþþe. & ful of meschef & of wretchidnes.[19] a greet[20] dai & riȝt bittere.
R. whan þou shalt come to iuge þe world bi fier.[21]
V. What shal I þanne moost wretche.[22] what shal I seie or what shal I do. whan I shal shewe forþ no goodnes[23] to fore[24] so[25] greet a iuge.
R. whan þou shalt come to iuge þe world bi fier.

[18]V.6.22 omits "a". [19]Ash., and wrecchednesse. [20]D.275, & gret. [21]D.275, whan þat the heuenes schullen be styred & þe erþe. [22]Ash., What schal I moost wrecche do þanne, D.246, What þanne I moste wrecche what schalle . . . , D.275, Q.324, What þan schal I do moost wrecche. [23]D.246, Whyle no þyng of good y have doon. D.275, Q.324, While I have noþing good I do. [24]Ash., D.246, D.275, Q.324, bifore. [25]D.246, siche.

Add. 17011

V. þat[5] dai schal be[6] a day of wraþe & ful of myschef[7] and of wrecchydnes a greet dai and wondyrbytter.[8]
R. Whan þat heuenes schulen ben moued fro þe eerþe.[9]
V. What schal I moost wrecche do þanne[10] what schal I seie or what schal I do whanne I schal schewe forþ no goodnes to fore[11] so greet a Iuge.
R. Whanne þou schalt come & Iuge[12] þe worlde be fyer.

[5]CU., V.8.15, 36683, þilke, C.699, þiwe. [6]CU., V.8.15, is. [7]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, & of chalenge. [8]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, & a ful bitter. [9]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, Whanne heuenes (V.8.15, heuene) & erþe schulen be moued. [10]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, þerfore what schal y þanne, most wrechidful (36683, wrecchful), þenke. [11]36683, bifore. [12]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, to deme, 17010, to iuge.

St. John's G.24

V. That day schal be a day of wrathþe and ful of mischef and of wrechchednesse, a gret day and riȝt biter.
R. Whanne that the heuenes bi styred fro þe eerthe.[17]
V. What schal y most wrechche do þanne[18] what schal y seye[19] or what schal y do[20] whanne y schal schewe foorþ[21] no goodnesse to fore[22] so greet a iuge.
R. Whanne thou schalt come[23] to iuge þe world by fyer.

[17]Bod., Whan thou shalt come. Wh., whanne þou schalt come to iuge þe world by fier. [18]Wh., I þanne, moost wrecche. Bod. omits "do þanne". [19]Bod., don. [20]Bod., say. [21]Wh. omits "foorþ". [22]Wh., bifore, Bod., whil non thyng y have do to fore. [23]Bod., comest.

The Lessouns of the Dirige

43. That day shal be a day of drede,
Of wraþþe and myschyf, and wrechidness.
þere may no man opere rede,
Ne make amendis for his mysse.
ffor worldly witnesse of synful ded,
Gostly payne in bitternesse.
þere helpeþ neþer counsel ne med;
Ech man for hymself, to payne, or blysse.

44. What shal y say for shame and drede,
Or what to do, fool and nys,
Whanne y shal schewe forþ no good dede
Byfore so gret iuge and wys?
Al folk on me woln take hede,
Wayte after vertue, and fynde vys.
Say, 'God, mercy, þy dome y drede,
ffor in þe, al mercy lys.'

Emmanuel 246

Canticle of Judgment

V. Now crist we axen þee. haue merci we biseche þee. þou þat come to bie vs þat weren lorne[1] wole þou not dempne hem þat þou hast bouȝt.[2] R. whan þou shalt come[3] to deme þe world bi fier[4]

V. Brennynge soulis wepen wiþ outen ende.[5] walkynge in[6] derknessis & þei seien eche of þo. wo. wo. wo. hou grete ben þese[7] derknessis þere we go.[8]

[1]27592, boren. [2]D.246, þe forbouȝt. [3]Ash., þou comest. [4]D.275, Q.324, "whan þat þe heuenes schulle be stired & þe erþe". [5]D.246, D.275, Q.324, 27592, V.6.22, . . . soules wepeþ wiþ outen ende þei wepen wiþ outen ende. Ash. as Emm. [6]Ash., D.246, D.275, Q.324, 27592, bi. [7]Ash., Q.324, þe. [8]Q.324, þat we inne go. D.275 continues, "Whan þou comest to iuge þe world bi fier." Q.324 also gives part.

Add. 17011

Canticle of Judgment

V. Now crist we axen þe haue mercy we bisechen þe[1] þou þat camyst to bygge us[2] þat were lorn:[3] wile þou not dampne hem þat þou haste bouȝt.[4] R. Whanne þat heuenes schulen be mo[ued] fro þe eerþe.[5]

V. Brennynge soulis[6] wepyn wiþ outen ende. þei weepen wiþ outen eende walkynge be derknessis: and þei seyen eche of þo:[7] Wo. Wo. Woo: hou greete ben þis derknessis þere we goon.[8]

[1]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, we biseche þee, haue merci on vs. [2]17010, to bigge that, CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, aȝenbie hem. [3]17010, born. [4]V.8.15, aȝenbouȝt. [5]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, Whanne þou schalt come to iuge (V.8.15, deeme) þe world bi fier. [6]C.699, 36683, soulis þei. [7]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, and ech of hem seien. [8]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, omit "þere we goon".

St. John's G.24

Canticle of Judgment

V. Nou cryst we axen thee. haue mercy we besechen thee. thou that come to bye us that were loren; wille thou nouȝt dampne hem that thou hast bouȝt.[1] R. Delyuere me lord of endeles deeth in that dredful day whanne that the heuenes schulle be styred fro þe erþe. Whanne thou schalt come to iuge the world by fyer.[2] V. Brennynge soules wepiþ with outen ende they wepen with outen ende[2] walkynge by derknesses[3] and þey seyen ech[4] of tho. wo. wo. wo. how grete been þes derknesses ther we go.

[1]Bod., dampne the forbouȝt. [2]Wh. omits "R. Delyuere . . . fyer", and "they . . . ende". [3]Wh., derknesse. [4]Wh., echoone.

The Lessouns of the Dirige

45. Now crist, of py mercie we craue,
Haue mercie on vs, and leue noȝt,
We byseche þe, þat come mankynde to saue.
To bye vs, þou from heuene vs soȝt,
Oure herytage for vs to haue,
þat wern lorn, þou hast boȝt.
Wyl noȝt dampne in helle kaue,
Thy honde warke þou hast wroȝt.

46. þe brennynge soule in helle hete,
Withouten ende wepe thoo.
Allas, oure synnes don vs bete,
þay say, 'wo, wo, wo!
Here is no remedie to gete.'
þay walke in derkenesse to and fro,
þe stynk and derkenesse is so grete,
Allas, in þysternesse we go.

Emmanuel 246

V. Shapere of alle þingis god þat fourmedist[9] me[10] of þe slyme of þe erþe[11] & wondirlich with þin owne[12] blood hast bouȝt vs þouȝ my bodi rote now þou[13] shalt make it rise of þe sepulcre in þe dai of dome. here me here me[14] þat þou comaunde my soule be put in þe bosom of abraham þi patriark whan þou shalt come to deme þe world bi fier.

[9]Ash., formede me and made me. [10]D.275, alle. [11]Q.324, of erþe. [12]27592, V.6.22, wiþ owen. [13]D.246, yow. [14]D.246, "here me" not repeated.

Add. 17011

V. Makere of noȝt alle þingis god þat[9] formedist me of þe slym[10] of þe eerþe[11] & wonderfulliche wiþ þin owne blood hast bouȝt vs: þouȝ my body roote now: þou schalt make it ryse of[12] þe sepulcre in þe day of doom. heere me. heere me. heere me:[13] þat þoow commaunde my soule be putte[14] in þee boosum of Abraham þi patriarche. R. Whanne þou schalt come & Iuge[15] þe world bi fyer:

[9]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, God, makere of nouȝt of alle creaturis, þat. [10]C.699, of slyme. [11]17010, of erthe, CU., me of þe erþe. [12]CU., V.8.15, 36683, out of. [13]17010 omits final "me", CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, heere þou me, repeated only once. [14]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, to be put. [15]CU., 36683, to iuge.

St. John's G.24

V. Schappere of alle þynges god þat fourmedest me of the slym of erthe.[5] and wonderliche with thyn owene blod hast bouȝt us. they[6] my blood[7] rotye; now thou schalt make hit ryse of the sepulcre in the day of doome. heer me. heer me. that thou comaunde my soule by put in þe bosom of abraham thy patriark. Whanne þou schalt come to iuge the world by fyer.

[5]Wh., þe erthe. [6]Wh., if. [7]Wh., bodi. MS. Bod. 85 breaks off before "Brennynge soules". These verses form an antiphon to the office itself and are repeated at the beginning of the Canticle. Bod. 85 therefore in effect omits the Canticle.

The Lessouns of the Dirige

47. God, that art shapere of al,
Of slyme of erthe þou me wroȝt.
Wiþ þy blod principal,
Wonderly þou haste vs boȝt.
þouȝ my body now rote smal,
My soule to my body shal be broȝt.
Out of my graue, reyse me þou schal
To lyues man, and fayle noȝt.

48. Blod and boon, flesche and felle.
Here my prayer: in parfitnesse
At domesday comaunde my soule to dwelle
In Abrahamys bosum, in thy blisse,
Whenne þou shalt delyuere me fram syȝt of helle.
þou breke þe ȝates of helle, ywisse,
þou souȝtest helle in peynes felle,
ȝaf lyȝt to hem in grete bryȝtnesse.

Emmanuel 246

R. Delyuere my soule of þe weies of helle þou þat brak þe ȝatis of bras & visitedest helle & ȝyue liȝt to hem þat þei þat weren in þeynes myȝt see þee[15] crynge & sey ynge þou art come oure aȝenbier. Delyuere me lord of þe weies of helle. Reste þei in pees. Amen.

[15]V.6.22 omits "þee".

Add. 17011

V. delyuere me lord of þe weyes[16] of helle. þou þat brakest[17] þe ȝates of bras & visytedest helle ȝaue[18] lyȝt to hem þat þei þat weren in peynes[19] myȝten se þee[20] creynge & seiynge. þou art come oure aȝenbyere.[21] R. Delyuere me lord of eendeles deeþ in þat dreedeful day whanne þat heuenes schulen be moued fro þe eerþe. V. Reste þei in pees. R. So be it.

[16]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, Lord delyuere þou (36683 omits "þou") me fro þe peynes (V.8.15, C.699, 36683, weies). [17]CU., C.699, 36683, brak. [18]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, & ȝaf. [19]17010, in the peynes. [20]CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683, to hem þee myȝten se, þat weren in peynes of derknessis. [21]Instead of what follows CU., V.8.15, C.699, 36683 substitute: "oure aȝenbier þou" (V.8.15 omits "þou") "art come to vs, þou þat brak þe ȝatis . . . derknessis", as above.

St. John's G.24

R. Delyuere me lord of the weyes of helle þou that breke the ȝates of bras and uisitedest helle and ȝefe liȝt to hem þat thei þat weren in peynes myȝte see þe cryynge and seyynge. thou art come oure aȝen beyȝere. Delyuere me lord.[8]

V. Reste they in pees. Amen.

[8]Wh. continues "of þe weyes of helle."

The Lessouns of the Dirige

49. Alas, y may be schamed sore,
At domesday stonde in drede;
I, to come so gret a Iuge byfore,
And shewe forþ no good dede,
Bote fardel of synnes gadred in store;
þe fendes redy my rolle to rede,
þe countretayle to shewe, þe score,
þe leste steppe þat euere y ȝede.

The remaining stanzas, 50-52, are not based on the Dirige.